

MILITARY ILLUSTRATED

□ PAST & PRESENT □

No. 10

December/January 1988

£1.95

American Revolution
Re-enactors

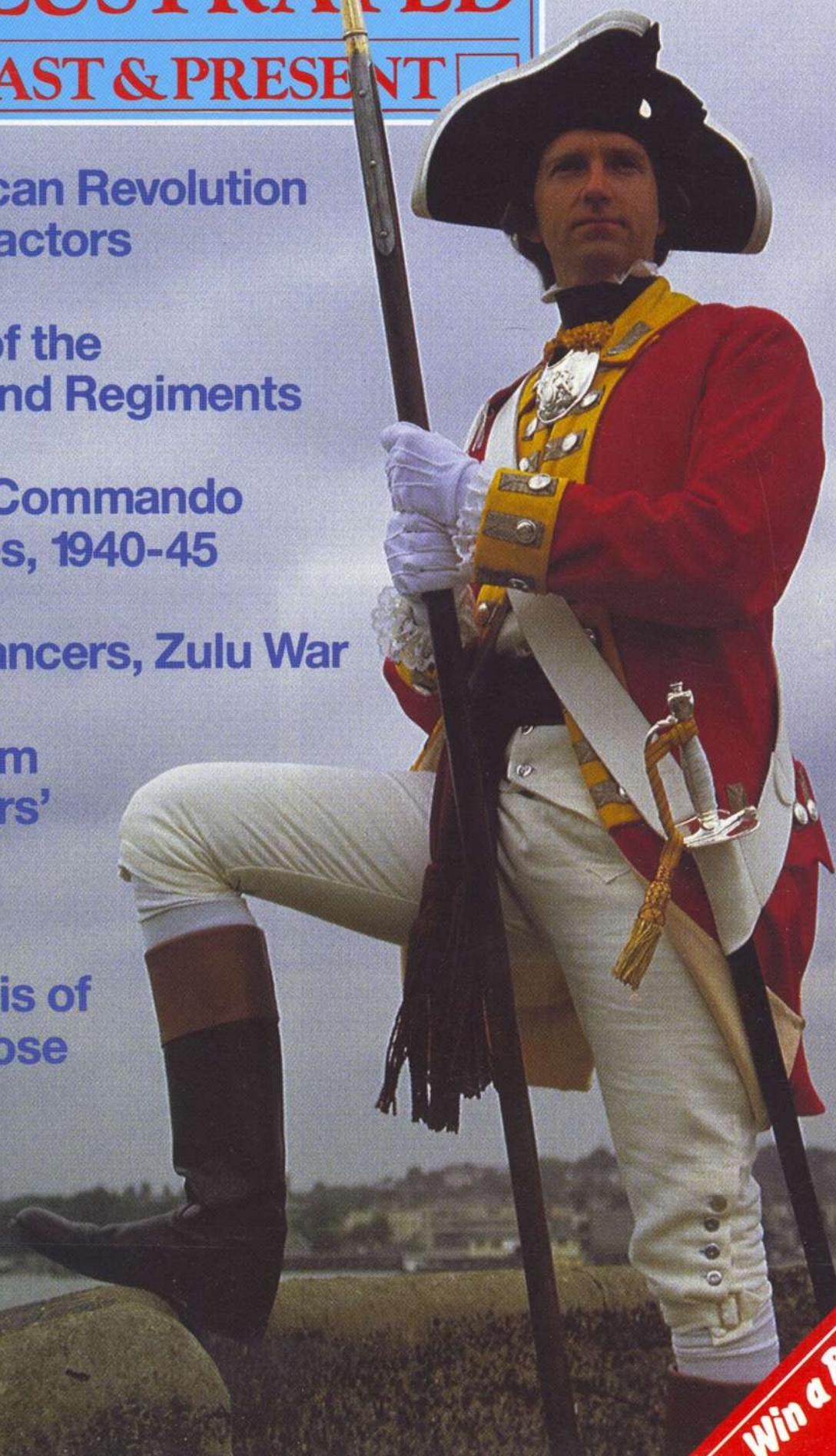
Birth of the
Highland Regiments

Army Commando
Badges, 1940-45

17th Lancers, Zulu War

Vietnam
'Strikers'

Marquis of
Montrose



Win a Brown Bess!
SEE
INSIDE



American Revolutionary Re-enactment Tour 25-31 August

The visit to Britain in late August by the American, Canadian and German historical re-enactors of the American Revolutionary 'British Brigade' and their Continental American, Loyalist, French and Hessian counterparts seemed to 'MI' to be an unqualified success. We are happy to publish in our cover section a series of photographs by Brian Leigh Davis, which may give readers unlucky enough to have missed the programme of displays at Pevensey Castle, Tilbury Fort, Dover Castle, and Audley End House an idea of the probably unrivalled standards of 'living history' re-creation achieved by these dedicated students of late 18th century drill, tactics and uniforms.

The tour was organised by English Heritage, with sponsorship by Gateway Foodmarkets. All involved in this massive task of organisation and logistics deserve high praise, for both imaginative planning and professional presentation. We sincerely hope that this success will be followed up in the future.

The tour involved more than 450 infantrymen, dragoons, and artillerymen, with four field-pieces; and some 100 'camp-followers', from fashionable ladies to barefoot 'drabs', whose period costumes added a pleasantly convincing note to those occasions when the troops were off duty.

The displays included demonstrations of drill and tactics, formal reviews and parades, programmes of military music by the expert fifers and drummers; and full-scale mock battles, most impressively choreographed and spiritedly fought, in some cases at dusk to get the most spectacular effects from the massed volleys of flintlock and cannon fire.

This report comes late to press, and rather than a repetitive list of the programme of events it seems more useful to mention just a few of the points that we noticed which seem to us to contribute most powerfully to the impressive quality of these groups.

Turn-out and presentation

The quality of uniform research and manufacture was consistently superb, and entirely convincing in every respect, from grenadier caps to cartridge boxes. Individuals were clearly prepared to spend a great deal of money on their turn-out; and — as important — it was obvious that rigorous standards and common patterns and specifications were enforced by the different groups. This approach extended to the composition of units — for instance,

the only 'grenadiers' we saw as one regiment marched past were all six-footers!

Practice and discipline

The re-enactors were obviously masters of period drill, on and off the battlefield. This can only be achieved by painstaking practice, beyond the patience and application of many who might vaguely like the idea of dressing in uniform and running around firing muskets.

Perhaps as important even as the uniforms, however, was the way that the re-enactors conducted themselves on and off the field. Their discipline, seriousness, and self-control — while clearly not preventing their enjoying themselves to the full — were extremely impressive. These men carried themselves at all times like soldiers. 'Officers' behaved with quiet authority, and were saluted by 'other ranks' at all times. There was no 'horsing around', no back-chat or straggling, no lounging into ranks with self-conscious jokes, and cigarettes, and cans of beer.

An eye for detail

Most re-enactors wore correctly styled wigs — most noticeably, the grenadiers and fusiliers with their carefully arranged plaited queues, and the senior officers with 'powdered' coiffures. Off duty many of the troops wore forage caps; and most smokers limited themselves to clay pipes. Men needing spectacles had even had prescription lenses made to fit little 18th-century frames. No doubt they enjoyed themselves like any other group of holiday-makers when the crowds had gone; but whenever they were in the public eye, on or off duty, they remained conscious of their appearance and behaviour, and were careful not to step out of character even when mingling with the crowd.

Safety

Thousands of rounds of blank charge were fired in close proximity to the public; and safety standards for the handling and discharge of all weapons seemed to us impeccable.

Numbers

The superb impression created was to a large extent a function of the sheer numbers involved: 450 men make a convincing military formation even in close order. In America these separate groups of enthusiasts, striving to meet common standards of authentic costume and drill, come together co-operatively to form the kind of large formations which alone can attract serious public interest in



COLOUR PHOTOGRAPH CAPTIONS:

Front cover: An officer of the '10th Regiment of Foot' poses on the ramparts of Tilbury Fort.

Page 2: top, Grenadiers of the '10th Foot', off duty and behind the scenes at Dover Castle, maintain admirable discipline until dismissed; **bottom left,** an officer of the '10th Foot'; **bottom right,** the drum major of the '10th Foot' prepares to face his public.

Page 3: A saturnine sergeant of the '23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers'.

Page 55: top left, a self-possessed musician of the '10th Foot'; **top right,** a soldier of the '33rd Foot' in King George's coat, much faded by service — a nicely convincing touch; **bottom left,** fusilier meets Hessian grenadier; **bottom right,** a Hessian musketeer.

Back cover: The grenadiers of the '10th Foot' in action, clustered round their colours during the battle at Audley End House. (All photos, Brian Leigh Davis).

the spectacle. We in this country should bear in mind that while competition in quality is healthy, public success depends upon co-operation.

* * *

This tour has set a bench-mark for re-enactors of all periods. It has left an indelible impression of 'theatrical' perfection, in the best sense of the word. It genuinely made the back hairs prickle to watch the '23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers' marching out down the ramp of Dover Castle in the dusk, rank after rank moving like proud automata to tuck of drum and squeal of fife, and singing 'Men of Harlech' as if they meant it.... We are in debt to our American friends for showing us what can be achieved by serious effort, and for their generosity with their time and energy. Now let's take thought on how to beat them at their own game.

MI

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The British Brigade
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(Also contact for American-based Continental and French units.)

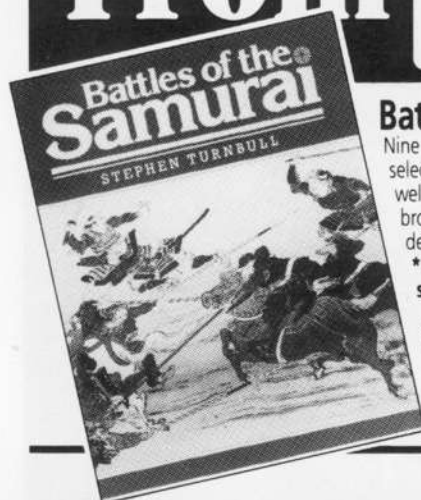
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R.R.1, King City,
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Hessian Grenadiers & Jägers:
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Oederweg 55
6000 Frankfurt, West Germany
The Crown Forces Assoc. (1776):
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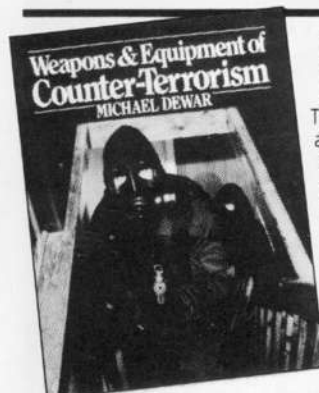
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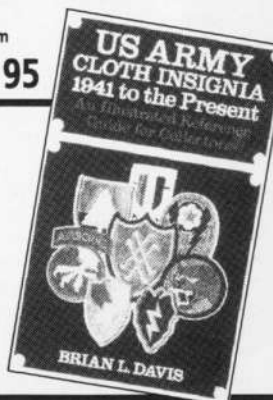
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2 & 55

American Revolutionary Re-enactment Tour, August 1987

11

The 17th Lancers, Zululand, 1879

IAN KNIGHT

Paintings by RICHARD SCOLLINS

18

1812 On The Screen

STEPHEN J. GREENHILL

23

The First Highland Regiment

PHILIP J. HAYTHORNTHWAITE

Paintings by ANGUS McBRIDE

31

Anatomy of a Special Forces Camp (2)

GORDON L. ROTTMAN

Paintings by RONALD B. VOLSTAD

38

The Distinctions of Army Commandos, 1940-45 (1)

WILLIAM Y. CARMAN

Paintings by MICHAEL CHAPPELL

52

Gallery: James Graham of Montrose

DAVID G. ADAMS

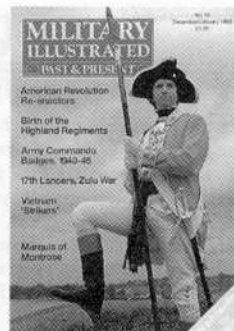
Paintings by ANGUS McBRIDE

Editorial	6	Classifieds	7
On The Screen	6	Letters	10
The Auction Scene	7	Reviews	36

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Our cover illustration shows an officer of the '10th Foot' at Tilbury Fort — see p.3.

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EDITORIAL

Even to summarise the achievements of **W.Y. Carman**, whom we welcome to this issue, would take a column. The doyen of British militaria researchers, Bill Carman was born in Ottawa in 1909. An art teacher by profession, he served overseas with the Royal Artillery in the Second World War. He has published more than 20 books since the 1940s, and innumerable articles; seems to have been a founder member, or president, of every relevant British society; worked at the Imperial War Museum, and was Deputy Director of the National Army Museum in the 1960s and '70s; has contributed to many film and TV productions; has lectured extensively, here and abroad; and remains extremely active in our field. We suspect that many of the rare insignia featured in his article were snipped off unwary passing Commandos *in situ*...

Another welcome guest is **Ian Knight**, born in 1956 and, by his own account, permanently affected by exposure to the film *Zulu* at the age of seven. After 12 years' freelance writing he has returned to academia to read African history. He has 'walked the ground' several times; and his recent editorship, for the Victorian Military Society, of a collection of Zulu War essays has attracted glowing reviews.

Ian's piece on the Lancers is illustrated by **Richard Scollins**, well known for work ranging from military illustrations through comic strips, record sleeves, pub signs and TV graphics, to research into the dialect and folk music of his native Derbyshire. Born in 1946, Rick was educated at Derby and Newport Colleges of Art and Cardiff University.

David G. Adams graduated from Edinburgh University in 1975



W.Y. Carman

Ian Knight



Richard Scollins

with a degree in Scottish History, which remains his passion — particularly his home area of Angus, and the period of the Civil Wars. David is a librarian and archivist who hopes to add, in time, to the number of books on the relevant shelves by his own efforts.

Re-scheduling

Our opportunity to publish extra colour material on the recent American Revolutionary re-enactment tour has meant temporary postponement of the third part of our series on the 15th-century footsoldier, and of our report on *Shaka Zulu*; but both will appear in

our next issue in February.

Battlefield tours

We are asked to mention that details of the fourth Anglo-Zulu War tour in May 1988 are now available; and also the arrangements for a ten-day tour of Scottish military sites in June/July, and a three-day Waterloo visit in September. SAE and a note of which tour interests you to Ted Brown at 67C Port St., Stirling, Central Scotland FK8 2ER, please.

Errata

In 'MI' No.9, p.14, the photo of 'The Rivers' is reversed left to right. **MI**

Video Releases:

'Sea of Sand'

(Video Collection: U)

'Massacre in Rome'

(Video Gems: 15)

'Eleni'

(Embassy Home Entertainment: PG)

Guy Green's *Sea of Sand* (1958) is set in Libya in October 1942, a few days before the battle of El Alamein. It opens with the arrival of Capt. Bill Williams (John Gregson) at a patrol base of the Long Range Desert Group, and his surprise at the informal atmosphere he finds there. Orders have been received to mount a raid on a German petrol dump to coincide with the coming offensive. Five trucks and 15 men, including Williams, set off across the desert on a journey which will take them hundreds of miles behind enemy lines. The intention to avoid premature contact with the Afrika Korps is foiled by unexpected encounters which whittle down the numbers of the patrol: only a few will survive.

In portraying a single operation the film could not possibly be representative of all the Group's activities; and the film maker's need for dramatic action precluded a script based on the far more typical clandestine intelligence-gathering rôle of the LRDG. Direct offensive action was rare, as were casualties as high as those suffered by the patrol in the film — though neither were unknown, and the two did tend to coincide. However, the film does avoid perpetuating the myth of a freewheeling private army acting on its own initiative.

The British cast includes such familiar faces as Michael Craig, Barry Foster, George Murcell, Andrew Faulds and Dermot Williams. Richard Attenborough gives an amusing performance as a Cockney who is as insolent to

officers as he is fond of alcohol. The stark monochrome photography well conveys the burning heat of the desert; and the film features a very catchy theme tune.

On 23 March 1944 — the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Italian Fascist party — 156 men of the 11th Company, 3rd Battalion, Bozen (Bolzano) Police Regiment were ambushed in the narrow Via Rasello in Rome by members of GAPS, the Italian Communist underground. Twenty-eight of the German police troops were killed outright, and five of the wounded died later. In reprisal, 335 Italians including 75 Jews were executed in the Ardeatine Caves, which were then sealed off to form a natural tomb. The story behind the attack and its bloody aftermath is told in George Pan Cosmatos's *Massacre in Rome* (1973), itself based on Robert Katz's book *Death in Rome*.

Unlike the majority of films about the Resistance, the story is told mainly from the German viewpoint. Col. Kappler (Richard Burton), head of the Gestapo and SD in Rome, is responsible for security in the city; and the task of drawing up the death-lists and selecting the place and manner of the executions falls to him. Although a dedicated officer, he appreciates that such a senseless reprisal will only provoke further incidents, and he is anxious to avoid his name being included on the lists of wanted war-criminals broadcast by the BBC.

Kappler's love of art has brought him into contact with Father Pietro Antonelli (Marcello Mastroianni), a priest who gives sanctuary to two of the 'Gapists'. Antonelli vainly tries to persuade Pope Pius XII to intervene to stop the executions, and in doing so his character represents

that element in the Church which was willing to resist. Both Kappler and Antonelli are pawns in their respective hierarchies, powerless to prevent the inevitable, while each able to act, to some extent, according to his individual conscience.

At the time the film was made Kappler was still serving a life sentence for his wartime crimes. In 1977, suffering from cancer, he was smuggled out of hospital by his wife and taken to Germany, where he died the following year. The film's implication that the Pope knew of the executions in advance but failed to act resulted in Katz, Cosmatos and producer Carlo Ponti being sued for defamation of Pius's memory by his niece and sister.

The film is intelligently scripted by Katz and Cosmatos, and features excellent performances by the two leads and the supporting cast; Leo McKern plays Gen. Maelzer, military commander in Rome, and Peter Vaughn plays Kesselring. Cosmatos extracts the maximum of tension and, to offset the fact that the outcome is known in advance, includes a final twist which it would be unfair to reveal.

Peter Yates's *Eleni* (1985) is based on Nicholas Gage's autobiographical best-seller of the same name. It opens in New York, when Gage (John Malkovich), a *New York Times* reporter, hears that his request for a transfer to the Athens office has been granted. He leaves his wife and family in America in order to track down those responsible for the death of his mother, Eleni, in 1948 during the Greek Civil War. His wish for revenge has been strengthened by the news that a 30-year law of limitations now offers immunity to all those guilty of war-crimes. Much of the film is in flashback,.

to his home village of Lia near the Albanian border in the late 1940s. The nine-year-old Nicholas recalls the departure of the Royalist forces and the arrival of a unit of the 'Democratic Army of Greece' (DES). The villagers hope they will soon be left in peace, but the unwelcome newcomers settle in for a prolonged stay. Eleni (Kate Nelligan), whose husband works in America, comes under suspicion from the new authorities. She attempts to keep her family together, but is powerless to prevent one of her daughters being drafted into the DES. Her success in smuggling her remaining children out of the village leads to her brutal interrogation, 'trial' and execution.

The Greek Civil War continues to arouse controversy, and debate persists as to the extent to which the DES was Communist-controlled and subject to orders from Moscow. The film portrays them uncompromisingly as hard-line Marxists who do not scruple to steal food from starving peasants, or to kidnap the village children and send them over the border to be 'educated' in Albania or Czechoslovakia. All these events certainly happened in Greece during that period; but it should perhaps be remembered that appalling atrocities were committed by both sides in a bitter struggle which added another 50,000 Greek deaths to the half-million which had resulted from Nazi invasion and occupation.

The Spanish locations stand in convincingly for the Greek mountains, and the village itself is picturesque. Kate Nelligan gives a most moving performance in the title rôle; and Oliver Cotton is suitably loathsome as the hated judge, Katis, who becomes the ultimate quarry in Gage's quest for revenge.

Stephen J. Greenhill

ON THE SCREEN

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- (2) The draw will be open only to subscribers who have recorded subscriptions direct with our office at 169 Seven Sisters Rd., London N4 3NS, England. Readers who have placed standing orders with UK or overseas distributors or retailers are *not* eligible. Employees of 'Military Illustrated' and their relatives are not eligible.
- (3) The draw will be open to UK and overseas subscribers who have a current subscription with us on 1 March 1988: i.e. those whose subscriptions include 'MI' No.12, published 1 April 1988. If your existing subscription terminates with No.10 or No.11, ensure that you renew your subscription at once if you wish to qualify for the draw.
- (4) In all matters connected with the draw the Editor's decision is final.

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effect, if any, the new attitudes will have on forthcoming sales, since auctions of arms and armour have always included a number of antique firearms. Three major London rooms — Sotheby's, Christie's and Phillips — have sales in October, and all include interesting pieces. Wallis & Wallis have two sales planned, one of which is their Special Autumn Sale offering a good selection of antique firearms includ-

ing some fine cased sets.

The main auction rooms for modern firearms is Weller & Dufty in Birmingham. Their two-part catalogues include many hundreds of vintage and modern firearms as well as other categories, and their sales attract most major dealers and collectors. These catalogues are a very useful source of information, with numerous illustrations, and a generally high standard of catalog-

uing. It will be interesting to see if the present climate will affect their prices, for the authorities are certainly examining the question of the collecting of firearms which are not antique. If collecting is restricted it will contradict the Report of the Working Party, which accepted that collecting was a 'good reason' within the meaning of the 1968 Firearm Act.

Further legislation is promised on the matter of knives; this is another field which has attracted growing attention at antique fairs and sale rooms, and there could be a

knock-on effect which could depress the prices of edged weapons. The proposed legislation will make it an offence to have a blade in a public place without 'reasonable cause or lawful excuse'. It will also place the onus on the owner to prove his innocence rather than the law proving his guilt. One wonders if collecting will be accepted as a lawful excuse? If there is any doubt about the interpretation of this phrase in practice, then auctions of edged weapons may well suffer.

Frederick Wilkinson

LETTERS

We will be glad to publish readers' letters which advance the information given in our articles; and to pass on to contributors queries more suitably dealt with by private correspondence. We reserve the right to select, for reasons of space, only the most relevant passages for publication. Please address letters to our editorial box number, given on page 5, and mark envelope 'Letters'.

Napoleonic Prints

Permit me an observation on Mr. Haythornthwaite's largely excellent article ('Interpreting Napoleonic Prints', *MI* No.6).

The Dubourg/Dighton plate, Plate C, 'A Corporal of the 13th Light Dragoons killing a French Colonel' does not show the colonel's uniform correctly. Granted that the

colonel might have donned a pair of red pants from hardship or fantasy, the only thing normal about his appearance is the fact that his coat is green and his helmet is brass.

The tall plume at the side of his helmet is grotesquely tall: if actually worn, it would be shorter, and white, as per tradition. The helmet is misshapen. The facing colour used by the 26th Dragoons was *aurora*, a golden orange — not red. And what in blazes is a colonel doing with a shoulder belt and cartridge box — or with aiguillettes, and on his right shoulder, at that! Dragoon officers used silver metal and lace instead of gold. And the colonel's saddle gear was obviously done by someone who hadn't seen the real thing . . . In short, another Dighton disaster!

The differing colour of plumes, at least, in the *Tirailleurs-Grenadiers* (Fig. 4) does have a logical explanation. The different regiments seem to have adopted different colours and shapes of plumes as unit distinctions. This possibly extended to shako cords, though certainly not to lapels and turnbacks, to my knowledge — there's quite a bit more to learn here.

Col. John R. Elting
Cornwall-on-Hudson, NY

We are grateful for the advice of an authority as widely respected as Colonel Elting.

Death of Wolfe

May I comment on those present at Wolfe's death (*MI* No.9)? The Louisbourg Grenadiers consisted of the Grenadier Companies of the 22nd, 40th and 45th Regiments, who were alongside the 28th Regiment at Quebec, Wolfe being at their head when he received his mortal wound. The 22nd's Grenadiers included Lt. Henry Browne, who had a brother in the 28th, and Volunteer James Henderson. In letters home shortly after the battle both claimed to have assisted Wolfe out of action, Browne saying that Wolfe 'was wounded as he stood within a foot of me', and Henderson, who himself had just been hit twice, that 'I caught hold of him and carried him off the field'. Neither mentioned the other, though Browne said 'I had his wounds dressed', implying a medical man's presence.

Capt. Holland, an engineer, was returning to report to Wolfe where he found him 'mortally wounded and being carried off the field by a Mr Brown [sic] of the 28th and a Grenadier of the same. We brought him down to the right of the 48th Regiment where a Mr Treat, Surgeon's Mate of that regiment, the only medical person who appeared, endeavoured to give assistance'.

Ensign Johnston, 48th, wrote to his father on 9 October 1759 saying, 'Mr Watson, Surgeon to our Regt, dressed Mr Wolfe's wounds'.

As the 48th (Webb's) was Wolfe's reserve, it seems likely that its medical staff was the nearest available to assist. Holland was writing 33 years after the battle and, though there is no reason to doubt his presence, he probably confused Treat and Watson, being of the same regiment (or Johnston did); and mistook Henry Browne of the 22nd for his brother of the 28th. His 'Grenadier of the same' was undoubtedly Henderson, who received an ensigncy in the 28th 12 days after the battle — hence Holland's mistake over his regiment.

West's famous 1771 painting was more an exaggeration than 'fiction'.

Henry Browne told his kinsman, Lord Sligo, that West had offered to include anyone at Quebec for a consideration. Browne refused to pay; but as he was a peer's son, West included him, incorrectly holding a Colour and with his face foreshortened and in shadow.

A more reliable painting is Edward Penny's 1763 version which shows the two Louisbourg Grenadiers, a surgeon (allegedly Dr Wilkins), and Capt. Curry, 28th, running in with news. Penny may have been unaware of Holland's presence; and since Wilkins was a staff surgeon outranking regimental surgeons, he thereby got himself into the picture. Dr Adair, who features in West's painting, was not even in Canada!

Michael Barthorp
St. Ouen, Jersey CI

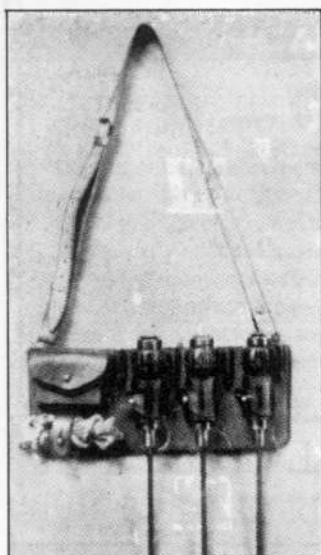
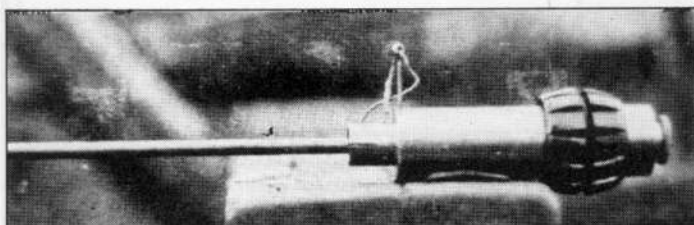
Great War grenade belts

Readers may be interested in a further footnote to Stephen Bull's 'British Grenade Tactics 1914-18' (*MI* No.7; also 'Letters', *MI* No.8), concerning items of personal equipment associated with hand grenades. Brief mention is made in the article of the 'No.2' or 'Mexican' grenade, also known as the 'Marten Hale' after its inventor, Frederick Marten Hale. (The name 'Hale' was also applied to another of the same inventor's productions, the 'No.3' or 'Grenade, .303 in. Short Rifle'.)

Two items of equipment were issued in the early stages of the war to men equipped with the Marten Hale No. 2 rifle grenade. The first was a single leather shoulder belt from which was suspended a leather plaque, to which were attached three loops with ball-stud fasteners, each to accommodate a rifle grenade with rod; conventional cartridge loops to accommodate the cartridges for projecting the grenades; a small, flapped leather pouch for detonators; and a loop holding a length of cord for throwing the grenades by hand. The second was a fitting for a waist belt, to be worn in the small of the soldier's back, with loops for four grenades but apparently without the other items, unless these were worn at the front of the belt. Further illustrations, including a variety of firing positions, may be found in *The Illustrated War News*, 2 December 1914, p.46.

Philip Haythornthwaite
Barrowford, Lancs

Below: Marten Hale No.2 rifle grenade with rod fitted; shoulder strap carrier; and belt carrier.



17th Lancers, Zululand, 1879



IAN KNIGHT
Paintings by RICHARD SCOLLINS

With the arrival in Britain of news of the disaster at Isandlwana, a number of regiments were ordered to prepare for active service. Among them were the only two regular cavalry regiments to serve in the Zulu War: the 1st (King's) Dragoon Guards, and the 17th (Duke of Cambridge's Own) Lancers.

When they received the order on 17 February 1879 the Lancers were stationed at Hampton Court and Hounslow. Leave was cancelled, and volunteers were accepted from other regiments. On the eve of departure the CO, Col. Thomas Gonne, was wounded in the thigh during revolver practice, so command passed to a former CO, Col. Drury Curzon Drury-Lowe. On 24 February the 'left wing' — A, E, F and D Troops — marched from the barracks to Hounslow station, and thence to London by train, embarking on the SS *France*. Two days later the right wing — B, C, G and H Troops — and the regimental headquarters staff embarked on the SS *England* at Southampton. The regiment was slightly under strength, with 622 men and 527 horses.

The *England* arrived at Durban on 7 April, and the

France on the 12th. As they disembarked the troops seem to have aroused mixed feelings among the locals, who were pleased to have so dashing a regiment come to defend them, but dubious of the practical advantages of the heavy British horses and their loads. The horses had indeed suffered during the voyage, and did not take to the coarse local grasses; so the regiment proceeded to the front slowly, to allow them to recover. It was the second week in May before they reached the front and joined Chelmsford's Second Division. On 19 May the Lancers took part in the reconnaissance of the battlefield of Isandlwana. The unburied remains of more than 1,000 troops, and the overgrown battlefield debris, had a profound effect upon the men of the 17th Lancers.

On 2 June the Lancers took part in the search for the body of the Prince Imperial

of France, killed in an ambush the day before. On the 5th they took part in a skirmish in the Upoko River valley which demonstrated the difficulties faced by regular cavalry in Zululand. The regiment was brought up to support irregulars who, patrolling ahead of the column's advance, had run into a large body of Zulus. Sporadic skirmishing was taking place in long grass. With the arrival of the 17th the irregulars were recalled, and three squadrons of the Lancers were deployed in line, charging several times through the grass and mealie fields. They failed to pin down the Zulus, however, who retired to high ground to snipe. Lieutenant and Adjutant F. Cockayne Frith was shot through the heart, and died instantly. The disappointed Lancers were recalled, the Zulus shadowing their retreat for several miles.

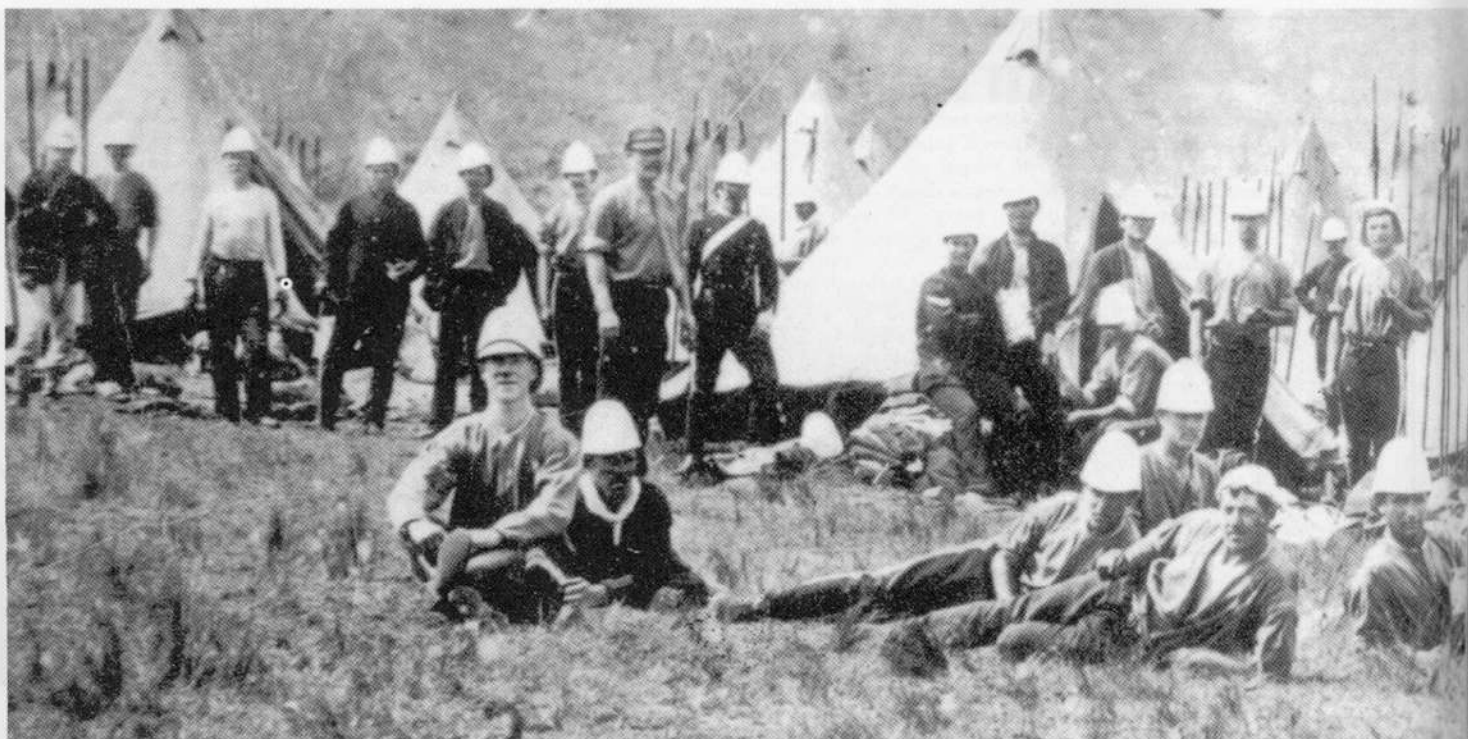
On 4 July, however, the regiment was allowed to prove its worth under ideal circumstances. Lord Chelmsford drew up his troops in a large rectangular formation on the Mahlabatini plain opposite Ulundi, the royal residence of the Zulu king Cetshwayo. The Zulus mounted a spirited attack, but were cut down by rifle, Gatling and artillery fire. As the attacks faltered Chelms-

The charge of the 17th at Ulundi, drawn by the war correspondent Charles Fripp, who was an eye-witness; he has captured the appearance of both lancers and Zulus well. In the centre background, Chelmsford's square. (Africana Museum, Johannesburg)

ford ordered the infantry aside, and the 17th Lancers trotted out, to charge with parade-ground precision. The charge cut a swathe through the retreating Zulus, and only slowed when it reached a thickly grassed slope defended by fresh warriors. This Zulu concentration was broken up by shell-fire; and the Lancers rode out across the plain, firing the Zulu military kraals which were dotted around it, including Ulundi itself. It was an appropriately successful end to offset against earlier frustrations. Ulundi marked the effective end of the Zulu campaign, and the troops were gradually withdrawn. The 17th Lancers embarked for India that October.

THE UNIFORMS

Surprisingly, given their dashing reputation, the 17th did not attract much attention from the local Natal photographers. There exist scarcely half a dozen photographs to indicate the extent to which the official active service uniform — which made no concessions to the



The regiment photographed at Cato Manor farm, Natal, in April 1879, while on their way up to the front. The helmets are still white, though one man (eighth from left, standing) has his tunic plastron buttoned across; and another (far left), presumably an officer, wears light-coloured riding breeches. Note the lances stuck upright between the tents, the horse furniture spread out on the right, the 'greyback' shirts with white neckband, and a number of odd unofficial caps. (Killie Campbell Library)

rigours of campaigning, beyond the replacement of the lance cap with the white foreign service helmet — was actually adapted to field conditions.

Officers

Most officers wore their full dress tunic, 1876 pattern. This was dark blue with a

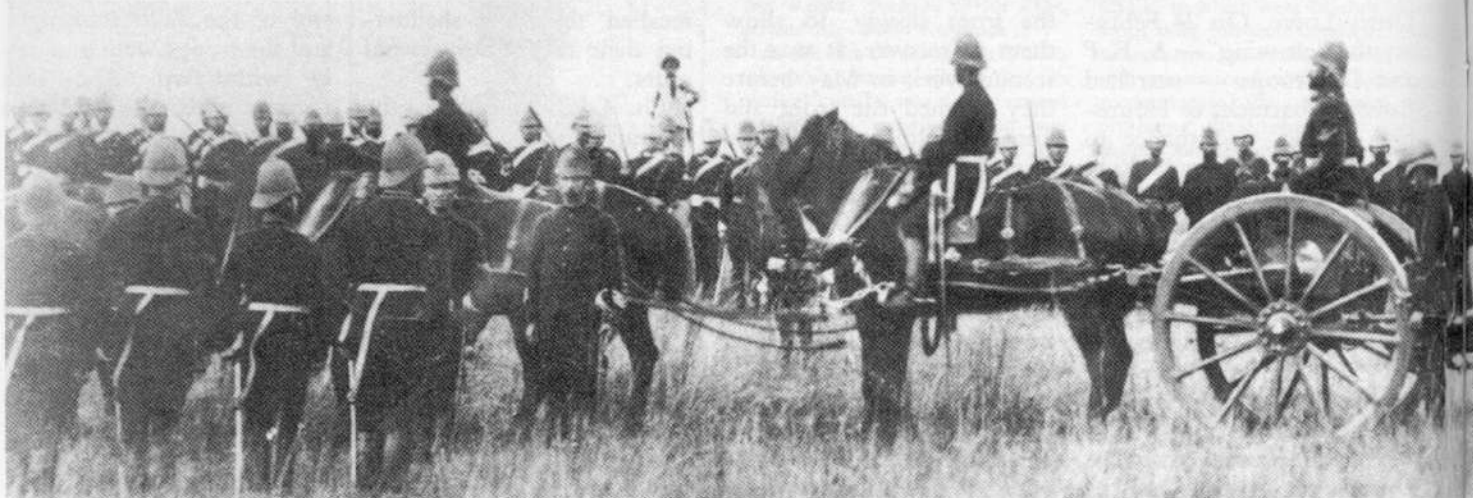
white plastron front, white collar and cuffs, and white piping along the leading edge of the skirt, around the bottom, and along the back and arm seams. It was double-breasted, with two rows of gilt buttons bearing the regimental death's-head device, the rows being 8 ins. apart at the top and 4 ins. at the waist. The bottom two buttons in each row were flattened to fit under the waist girdle. There were two buttons at the waist behind, above the slashed panels, which were edged all round with gold round-back cord, and each bore three more buttons. A small patterned button on each shoulder secured a loop of gold braid. There was a one-inch band of gold lace around the top of

the collar, and around the pointed cuffs. Field officers had a double row of lace on the cuff, and a band around the base of the collar.

The collar was usually rounded at the front, and this is confirmed by a photograph of Capt. Wyatt-Edgell, killed at Ulundi. However, a photograph of Cockayne Frith, killed at Upoko, shows a square collar of the type usually associated with a later period. Rank badges were worn on the collar, embroidered in silver with some colour inlay. These were a crown for lieutenant-colonel; a star for major; crown and star for captain; crown for lieutenant, and star for second-lieutenant. The extra gold braid served to differ-

entiate the field ranks, in theory; but in practice the risk of confusion inherent in this system led to adoption of a different sequence in October 1880.

It is hard to imagine anything more conspicuous to enemy marksmen than a brilliant white tunic plastron and helmet, white showing for miles in the glare of the African sun. A photograph of Other Ranks taken at the Cato Manor farm in April 1879 shows the foreign service helmets stripped of ornaments, but still pristine white. By the time the regiment was photographed on parade at the Prince Imperial's funeral procession on 2 June, however, the helmets appear dull. Sketches by Chelmsford's military





secretary, Lt. Col. J. N. Crealock, and the war correspondent Charles Fripp, confirm that the Lancers followed infantry practice and dyed helmets brown. The dye was improvised from a number of materials, tea and coffee being the most common, but mimosa bark, and even cow dung were reportedly used on occasion.

Similarly, the plastron was obscured, apparently by simply buttoning over the reverse side so that it showed blue with white piping down the left edge. Both officers and ORs adopted this expedient.

Some officers wore the blue patrol jacket in the field. Unlike the infantry, the cavalry wore patrol jackets varying from regiment to

regiment, and often very ornate. The 17th's were fairly straightforward, however. They were of dark blue cloth, with a stand-up collar edged top and bottom with black mohair braid. The same braid edged the skirt all round and the front closure; up the side slits, along the back seams, and around the slit pockets; and around the pointed cuffs. There was black mohair piping decoration, in elaborate knot motifs, on and above the cuffs; on the centre back below the collar; between and on either side of the base of the back seams, and at the top of these seams. The jacket was fastened with hooks and eyes, but was decorated with five 'loops' of double mohair braid across

the front at regular intervals, ending in drop loops either side of the closure. There were four rows of olivets, two on each side of each double braid loop.

A photograph of officers off duty in Zululand shows them wearing a wide variety of unofficial jackets, several of which are plain blue single-breasted types, and one of which is light-coloured, perhaps khaki. The same photograph shows colonial-style wide-brimmed hats to have been popular.

Dress Regulations for 1874 specified an officer's forage cap 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ ins. high, of dark blue cloth, with a gold 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ -in. band, and gold braids crossing the top at right angles, crowned by a gold purl button. However, this

headgear does not appear in any photographs of Lancer officers in Zululand.

Trousers were dark blue, with a double white stripe with a line between. Photographs show at least one officer wearing tan or buff corduroy riding breeches, which were popular with mounted infantry officers. Boots were of black leather.

The funeral procession of the Prince Imperial, 2 June 1879. Lord Chelmsford and his staff follow the gun carriage bearing the body; beyond, the 17th Lancers parade with dipped lances. The helmets have nearly all been stained, and no white plastrons are visible. One officer wears light riding breeches, another a patrol jacket. (National Army Museum)





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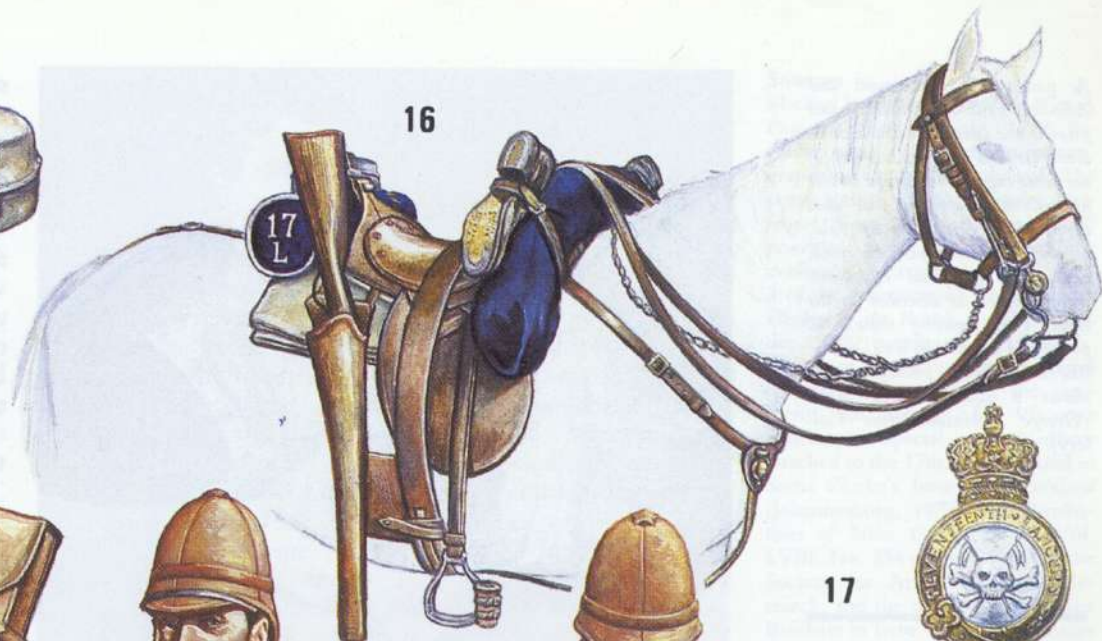
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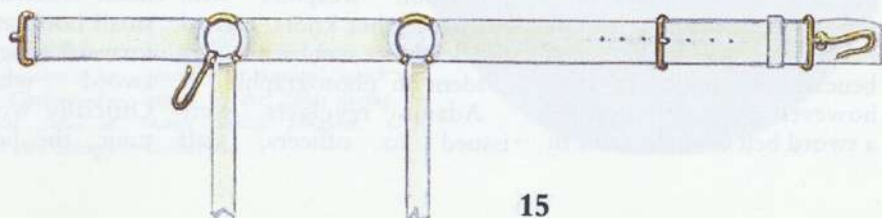
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A portrait of Lieutenant and Adjutant Frith in full dress, just prior to the campaign in which he died. Beyond the replacement of the lance cap by the foreign service helmet this uniform was that supposed to be worn in the field, although the lines were discarded, and other unofficial expedients were adopted as described in the text. This painting shows the pouch and sword belts well; and — like a surviving photograph — shows a square-collared tunic. (George Robinson/Parker Gallery)



Colour plate captions, pages 14 & 15

(1) Private, official service dress; whitened helmet, white plastron, waist girdle and gauntlets would all fall prey to practicalities of campaigning. ORs' boots were shaped to a 'V' in front, hollowed out behind knee.

(1a) 1864 pattern trooper's sword.

(2) Officer, campaign dress; note reversed plastron, stained helmet, dress pouch belt, unofficial waist belt, cord breeches. (2a) 1822 pattern Light Cavalry officer's sword.

(3) Exploded view, ORs' tunic.

(4) Front and rear, officer's blue patrol jacket with black mohair braid and decoration.

(5) Officer's gilt regimental button.

(6) Officer's forage cap (above), and ORs' forage cap (below); the latter, but not the former, seems to have been worn in Zululand.

(7) Different collar shapes visible in officers' portraits, with rank insignia of (above) captain, and (below) lieutenant.

(8) A common alternative to the issue Adams was this Tranter's 'Army' revolver.

(9) Corporal, campaign dress; note stained helmet, plastron buttoned across, infantry cartridge pouches.

(10) Private, campaign dress.

(11) NCO chevrons — here, Troop Sergeant Major; right sleeve only.

(12) Long Service & Good Conduct chevron; right forearm.

(13) Skill-at-arms badges: 'Best Lancer', 'Best Swordsman' and 'Best Shot in Squadron'; left forearm.

(14) Oliver pattern water bottle.

(15) Details of waist belt.

(16) ORs' horse furniture.

(17) Officers' regimental pattern bit-boss.

(18) Mess tin.

(19) Horseshoe case, attached nearside rear.

(20) Wallet (pair; obscured by rolled cloak in detail 16).

Accoutrements and Weapons

In the photograph of the Prince Imperial's funeral the officers are clearly wearing the dress pouch belt. This was of gold, with a white central line; the plate, chain, pickers, buckle, tip and slide were all silver. The pouch was of blue leather, with a silver top engraved round the edge and with an entwined 'VR' cypher in gilt. The portraits of Lt. Frith suggest that it may have been fashionable to wear this so that the plate was high, in the centre of the chest, with the top mount to which the chain was attached being on the shoulder under the shoulder cord.

The officer's waist girdle was gold lace with two crimson stripes; it was not, however, worn in Zululand. The 1874 Dress Regulations describe the dress sword belt as being gold, 1¼ ins. wide, with a ¼-in. stripe of the facing colour, morocco lining and snake clasp. The slings were similar, with gilt buckles. It was to be worn beneath the tunic. In fact, however, most officers wore a sword belt over the tunic in

place of the girdle, and a photograph shows at least one wearing the dress sword belt in this way. But many officers clearly preferred brown leather Sam Browne or other waist belts, with the sword, revolver holster and ammunition pouch attached. The sword is seen attached either by a frog or by leather slings.

The official sword was the 1822 Light Cavalry pattern, which had a three-bar hilt with a checkered top, the fish-skin grip being bound with silver wire. The slightly curved blade, 32½ ins. from shoulder to point, was 7⁄8 in. wide at the shoulder. It was carried in a steel scabbard some 38 ins. long, with top and middle rings. The sword knot was crimson and gold cord with a gold acorn. Amongst the infantry, however, there was considerable latitude with regard to swords, and this also seems to have been true of the Lancers, since non-regulation weapons with brown leather knots, carried in leather scabbards, are evident in photographs.

Adams revolvers were issued to officers, staff

sergeants, troop sergeant majors and trumpeters; again, many officers probably provided their own weapons.

It may be presumed that for long patrols officers would have carried field glasses, and perhaps the same type of haversack and water bottle as issued to the troopers.

Other Ranks

The OR's tunic was of similar pattern to the officer's; blue, with a white plastron front, plain white collar and pointed cuffs, and white piping down the front edge of the skirt, round the bottom, along the back and arm seams, and around the rear skirt flaps. The buttons were brass, of regimental pattern. The shoulder cords were single loops of yellow braid. NCOs' chevrons were gold regimental pattern lace, worn on the right sleeve only, with trade badges above where appropriate. Skill-at-arms badges were worn above the left cuff. Long Service and Good Conduct badges in the form of a point-up chevron were worn above the right cuff, and a photograph of Pte. Gissop taken shortly after the war shows these to have been yellow. Yellow body lines were not worn on active service; and nor, apparently, was the waist girdle of yellow worsted with two red stripes.

The ORs' forage cap was blue with a wide white band, and white pipings crossing the crown. This does seem to have been worn in Zululand, although a photograph of men off duty also shows a variety of woollen comforter caps.

Trousers were dark blue with a double white stripe.

Accoutrements and Weapons

The sword belt was of white leather, with a brass snake hook fastener. There was a small hook at the top of the forward sling to support the sword when required. Officially worn beneath the tunic, the belt was in fact

worn over it in place of the girdle.

The 1864 Cavalry Trooper's Sword had a steel sheet guard pierced in front with four triangles in the shape of a Maltese cross. There were two slots at the end of the guard to secure the white leather sword knot. The grip comprised two checkered leather pieces fixed by five rivets to the tang, which was the same width as the grip. Overall length was 41 ins., with a slightly curved blade measuring 35 ins. from shoulder to tip. The steel scabbard had two bands and rings, one at the mouth and one a third of the way down.

Photographs show ORs wearing white infantry-style Valise Pattern ammunition pouches on the waist belt on either side of the clasp, for carbine cartridges. One wonders how comfortable these would have been after many hours in the saddle: a photograph of a trooper of the King's Dragoon Guards at Isandlwana on 19 May shows him apparently wearing a similar belt with pouches, but casually slung around his neck. One wonders if similar expedients were adopted by the Lancers.

The white leather pouch belt, with plain black leather pouch and brass tip and buckle, was worn over the left shoulder.

A white canvas haversack was worn over the right shoulder, on the left hip; and the Oliver pattern water bottle on a white or buff leather sling over the left shoulder. The Oliver was a D-section wooden bottle with two metal reinforcing bands and a wood and metal stopper.

The main weapon, self-evidently, was the 1868 pattern lance, nine feet long, made of ash or bamboo — those photographed in Zululand are universally bamboo. This was officially designated 'male' bamboo, and differed from the more

common 'female' type in having very little pith, being therefore largely solid wood, and stronger. The end of the shaft fitted into the socket of a cast-steel spearpoint blade, and was fixed with shellac. The butt or shoe was also of cast steel. A red-over-white pennon was fixed to the wood below the head, and a white rawhide grip was fastened round the lance's point of balance.

In 1871 the British Government had adopted the Martini-Henry carbine for use by cavalry. This had a 22-in. barrel and a calibre of .45in.; it was carried in a leather 'bucket' behind the leg on the right side of the saddle.

There is very little direct evidence concerning horse furniture. Some of the new 1878 pattern 'Angle Iron Arch' saddles were issued to both Lancers and Dragoon Guards in Zululand, but were not favourably received. The bulk of the Lancers presumably used the 1856 'Universal Wood Arch Saddle'. The bridle was the 1860 pattern. Blue cavalry cloaks, with a white lining for officers, were carried strapped over the wallets in front of the saddle when mounted; it is possible they may have been worn *en banderole* for dismounted duties. The blue valise, piped white around the ends and bearing '17' above 'L', was strapped behind the saddle, with the mess tin strapped on top. The lance bucket was buckled to the right stirrup

iron, the carbine bucket behind the girth. It is unlikely in the extreme that officers wore their ceremonial sheepskins on campaign.

* * *

It is interesting to note that officers and rankers alike appear heavily moustachioed and bearded in photographs. Few other concessions seem to have been made to the realities of African campaigning; and the rigours of climate, thorn trees and spiky aloes took their toll. According to Pte. Gissop, the 17th had a decidedly 'lived in' appearance as they returned from Zululand: 'I don't know what people would have thought could they only have seen us with our clothes torn and patched, belts and saddles dirty, bits rusty, boots without blacking or grease, and so lamentable in appearance from the Regt which left England so clean and smart such a short time ago.' [MI]

Sources

Michael Barthorp's *The Zulu War: A Pictorial History* (Poole, 1980) includes most of the known photographs of Lancers in Zululand. The same author's *British Cavalry Uniforms Since 1660* (Poole, 1984) provides a useful study of the evolution of cavalry dress; and Vol. 3 of the Marquess of Anglesey's *A History of the British Cavalry* (London, 1982) covers the Zulu War. There are several interesting diaries by serving members of the regiment: the account by Viscount Vincent, a special service officer attached to the 17th, can be found in Sonia Clarke's *Invasion of Zululand* (Johannesburg, 1979); *The Recollections of Miles Gissop* are in Vol. LVIII, No. 234 of the *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*; and the diary of Sgt. Joshua Bolshaw in Issue 46 of the *Victorian Military Society Journal, Soldiers of the Queen*.

Author and artist wish to thank D. S. V. Fosten for access to some of his notes.



A study by Louis Edwards of a private of the 17th in campaign dress, 1879; note hooked-up sword, and Valise Pattern ammunition pouches worn on the waist belt. (National Army Museum)



Capt. the Hon. Edmund Verney Wyatt-Edgell, who was shot as he led his men out of Chelmsford's square to charge the Zulus at Ulundi. According to Pte. Gissop,

his death gave his men 'a fierce yearning for revenge', which was vented on the Zulus during the charge which followed. (IJK Collection)

1812 ON THE SCREEN

STEPHEN J. GREENHILL

The year 1812 has become synonymous with Napoleon's invasion of Russia, resulting in the battle of Borodino, the occupation of Moscow, and the disastrous winter retreat which followed. The popular conception of these tumultuous events has largely been determined by Tchaikovsky's '1812 Overture', and by Tolstoy's classic novel *War and Peace* — the latter adapted several times for the screen. In this article we review not only this best-known of fictional treatments, but also some of the more obscure and interesting films which have been based on the same events since the days of silent cinema.

THE CAMPAIGN

Before Napoleon's invasion of Russia he was at the height of his powers. The Treaty of Tilsit, 1807, spelled the end of the Fourth Coalition against him, and the start of an uneasy peace with Czar Alexander I of Russia. His sole enemy was Britain, whose one major force then in the field was still embroiled well south of the Pyrenees. But continuing trade between Britain and Russia, and Alexander's reluctance to act during the Franco-Austrian campaign of 1809 made conflict inevitable. On 24 June 1812 Napoleon's *Grande Armée* crossed the River Niemen into Russia some 500,000 strong.

Napoleon's attempts to bring about the decisive battle were continually frustrated by Russian withdrawals under Gen. Barclay de Tolly, though the French quickly captured Vitebsk and Smolensk and pushed on toward Moscow. The Russians, now under Marshal Kutuzov, fell back to a position near the village of Borodino some 70 miles west of Moscow and astride the only possible axis of advance. The pivotal point of the Russian defences was the

Great (or 'Raviesky') Redoubt, a semi-circular earthwork mounting some 20 guns, protected by a deep ditch. The battle of 7 September was an appalling killing-match which cost some 70,000 lives, and neither army was capable of renewing the contest on the following day. The Russians retreated eastwards, leaving the French an open road to Moscow.

Napoleon was to stay there only five weeks. Fire-raisers burnt many of the city's wooden buildings to the ground; the hoped-for provisions were nowhere to be found; and Napoleon's lines of communication were under constant harassing attack. The French withdrawal began in an orderly fashion on 19 October; but the combined forces of Kutuzov and 'general winter' bled the *Grande Armée* to death. Of the half-million men who had so confidently marched into Russia, only some 20,000 ever recrossed the Niemen into Poland.

EARLY RUSSIAN FILMS

Cinema in Russia flourished for a full ten years before the Revolution. Initially it was dominated by foreign companies who set up their own production facilities. Historical subjects and costume epics were popular.

The first film about the



1812 campaign was Vasili Goncharov's *Napoleon in Russia* (1910), produced under the auspices of the French Gaumont Company. The next attempt was produced by Alexander Khanzhonkov, a retired Cossack officer and nobleman turned film manufacturer. He enlisted the financial support and world-wide distribution facilities of the Pathé Frères company to make *The Year 1812* (1912), to coincide with the centenary. It was directed by A. Uralsky and Kai Hansen, who recreated many scenes based upon Vereschagin's campaign paintings. For scenes of the retreat, wolves were trained to attack dummies dressed as French troops and stuffed with raw meat! The film was given a simultaneous premiere in cities all over Russia on 25 August 1912.

During the years immediately after 1917 Russian cinema was pre-occupied with revolutionary themes. However, another cycle of historical films began in the late 1930s, and continued throughout the Second World War. By the time Vladimir Petrov made *Kutuzov* (1943) the Wehrmacht was on the retreat, but still occupying vast tracts of the

Motherland; the film was made under the most difficult circumstances, being one of the first to be made after the Mosfilm company returned to their war-damaged studios in Moscow.

In the film, Kutuzov (Alexei Diky) is called to replace Barclay de Tolly, who is regarded as a foreigner by virtue of his Scottish ancestry. The film shows how Kutuzov retreats before Napoleon until the moment comes to defeat the invading army and ruin it as it retreats. Obviously, the film was conceived to present a strong analogy with contemporary events: Kutuzov represented Stalin, and Borodino, Stalingrad. Vasili Solovyov's script departed from the traditional view of Kutuzov as lethargic and fatalistic: he was portrayed as energetic and strong-willed, giving precise orders, and in complete control at Borodino.

'WAR AND PEACE'

The campaign is probably best known as providing the main historical backdrop to Tolstoy's monumental novel. The story concerns four aristocratic Russian families between 1805 and 1812, with an epilogue set some years later. The prin-

Above:

Alexei Diky in Petrov's *Kutuzov*, made in 1943 in obvious reference to Russia's ordeal under German invasion.

cial character is Pierre Bezukov, whose spiritual odyssey doubtless reflected Tolstoy's own. Other main characters include Pierre's friend Prince Andrei Bolkonsky, who is fatally wounded at Borodino; and Natasha Rostova, the girl they both love.

Tolstoy was able to draw upon his own experiences when describing the behaviour of men in battle. He enlisted in 1851 as an army cadet, and saw service in the Caucasus, where he heard stories told by Cossacks who had participated in the war against Napoleon. During the Crimean War Tolstoy was a lieutenant of artillery, and was present at the defence of Sebastopol throughout the winter of 1854-55 and the following summer.

The first two films based on the novel were made simultaneously in Russia in 1915. One, produced by Khanzhonkov and directed by Pyotr Chardykin, was based on a stage version entitled *Natasha Rostova*. The other, directed by Yakov Protzanov and Vladimir Gardin (who also played Napoleon), was a ten-reel version in two parts, hastily filmed in 12 days to beat its rival into the cinemas!

It was the Italian producer Dino de Laurentiis who provided the first significant film version, which was directed by King Vidor in 1956. It starred several well-

known Hollywood actors, and the Italian army as extras. Condensing the novel into less than four hours' screen time inevitably gave the film the air of a synopsis, and failed to flesh out the novel's complex characterisations. However, Henry Fonda gave an intelligent performance as Pierre; Mel Ferrer was a rather wooden Andrei, and Audrey Hepburn managed the difficult task of conveying Natasha's maturing from girl to adult.

In the book Tolstoy describes Borodino from the viewpoints of four main characters. He describes the close-quarter experiences of Pierre, who observes the battle from the Great Redoubt, and of Prince Andrei, whose regiment is in the reserve. By contrast, Napoleon and Kutuzov are too remote from the action to have a significant influence on the course of events once battle has been joined.

In the 1956 film the battle is represented by one spectacular scene in which Pierre wanders up to the Great Redoubt in order to observe the fighting. A massive column of French infantry advances up the hill towards the redoubt, preceded by a line of skirmishers. The Russians counter by sending some infantry to support their guns. They hold their fire until the French are within musket range; then artillery and infantry fire together, sending the French

reeling back in headlong retreat. Napoleon (Herbert Lom), watching the progress of the battle from a chair with a drum at his feet, impassively orders a cavalry attack. Line upon line of horsemen, with blue cloaks streaming (anachronistically) behind them, charge up the hill through their own infantry and take the redoubt. As in the novel, Pierre offers to help bring up more ammunition, only to be knocked off his feet when a caisson explodes. Andrei, whose reserve regiment has sustained casualties from French artillery fire, is mortally wounded by a shell which bursts a few feet away.

The sequence is impressive enough by Hollywood standards, but hardly conveys either tactical realities or the true ferocity of the battle. In fact the redoubt changed hands several times. The film shows it at the top of far too steep a slope; and the cavalry charge covers a ludicrously long distance.

BONDARCHUK'S MASTERPIECE

As spectacular as this film is, it pales in comparison with the mighty Russian version *Voina I Mir* (1962-67) produced, directed and written by Sergei Bondarchuk. An experienced actor, Bondarchuk cast himself as Pierre and gave a most convincing performance, aided by the advantage of physically resembling Tolstoy's descrip-

tion of the character. Bondarchuk's own wife, the actress Irinia Skobtseva, played Helene, the statuesque beauty to whom Pierre is unhappily married until released by her death. The then-unknown Ludmilla Savelyeva was a most delightful Natasha.

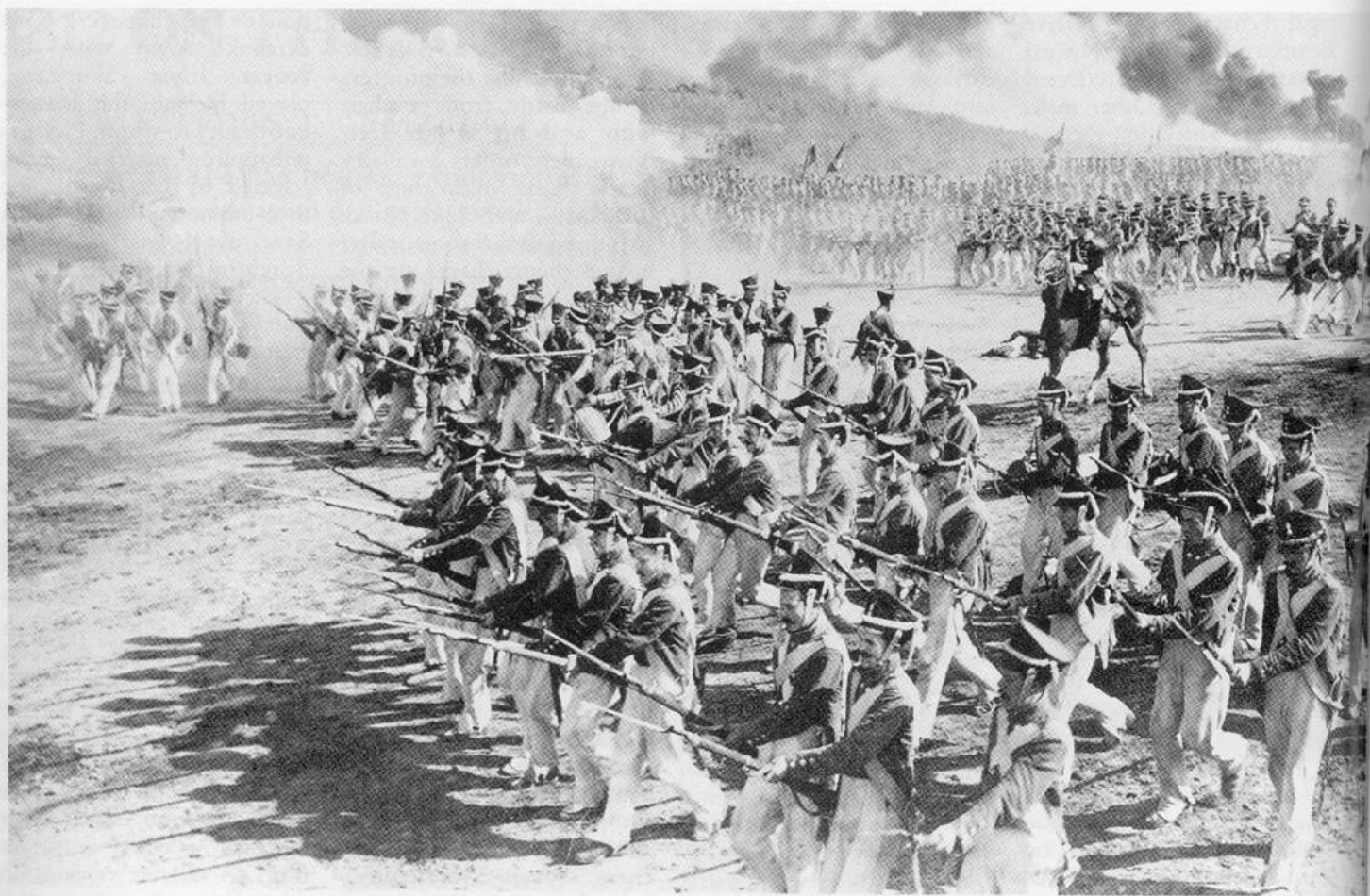
The statistics of the production were staggering: 160 cannon and 120 waggons were used, and for the Borodino sequence alone the Red Army provided four infantry and two cavalry divisions. Soldiers impersonating Russian and French troops were drilled to march at 75 and 120 steps per minute respectively; and the changes of uniform which took place between 1805 and 1812 were duly duplicated.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to comment on the full-length Russian version, which ran to some nine hours overall and was released as four separate films. A shorter version for release in the West was prepared originally by Bondarchuk; but the American distributors cut the film further, re-edited some sequences, and added intrusive American dubbing. The version televised some years ago by the BBC is the subtitled export version, which is longer, but still far from complete.

The third part, called *1812*, opens with Napoleon on a hilltop, watching his army advance into Russia. This is contrasted with the Russian court enjoying a ball in St. Petersburg, and their reactions to news of the invasion. Kutuzov, veteran of many wars, is made field-marshal in spite of the fact that his eyesight is failing. He is not a popular choice. Later scenes show the panic-stricken Russian retreat through Smolensk.



A retreat scene from King Vidor's 1956 *War and Peace*; the teenage Italian constricts in their studio uniforms do not look particularly convincing, but it is hardly fair to enlarge a crowd scene from the 1950s and compare it with such loving modern re-creations as Scott's *The Duellists*.



A magnificent scene from the 1962-67 Bondarchuk War and Peace; for the battle sequences the Soviet Army provided no less than four infantry and two cavalry divisions.

The Borodino sequence could not be filmed at the historical site because of the numerous monuments to the Russian heroes of the battle. Similar hillsides around the small town of Dorogbuzh near Smolensk were used instead; and in the pursuit of accuracy, a field in front of the line of fortifications was even changed from a beanfield to a wheatfield.

In the film, Pierre arrives at the Russian encampment on the day before the battle. He sees the stream of wounded from the previous day's fighting at Shevardino, a knoll which had formed part of the Russian left wing but which was to be Napoleon's vantage point during the battle. Thousands of peasants are toiling to build the earthworks; and columns of soldiers form a religious procession, headed by the sacred icon of the Holy Virgin of Smolensk from the

church at Borodino.

On the screen, thousands of soldiers march across the battlefield, cavalry units charge, and scores of cannon fire in rapid succession. Sometimes the camera gives panoramic views of the slaughter, sometimes close-ups of individual faces, and sometimes it even appears to glide through the chaos. Much of the overall visual effect of the battle scene was based upon the Borodino Panorama painted by F. Rubo, which hangs in Moscow. The effort poured into this sequence was well justified, and produced what must be the most spectacular battle scene ever put on film.

Bondarchuk opted for an impressionistic battle scene rather than a clear sequence of events. The version screened in this country uses many split-screens and super-impositions, and led some critics to accuse Bondarchuk of unnecessary use of avant-garde techniques. The truth is that these were inserted by the American organisation which distributed the film, as part of its

efforts to cut running time still further. However, certain key elements of the battle can be discerned.

Napoleon ignores his generals' pleading to release more reserves to ensure a decisive victory. The Russian Prince Bagration is mortally wounded while leading a cavalry charge. We see the hand-to-hand fighting in and around the Great Redoubt, the arrow-shaped earthworks called *fleches*, and the ruined village of Semyenouskoye.

Throughout Bondarchuk's epic the particular character of Russian society, as reflected in the relationships between soldiers of every rank, is captured with great conviction — a fascinating bonus for Western viewers, which was quite absent from the Hollywood version.

Both Vidor's and Bondarchuk's versions portray the occupation of a virtually deserted Moscow, and the subsequent burning of the city. Pierre is wrongly arrested as a fire-raiser and narrowly escapes execution. The fire in the Russian

version is particularly awesome: the camera at times appears to glide over the heads of the thousands of soldiers in the streets, and even through burning buildings; the air is filled with a black storm of wind-blown ashes.

Both versions well convey the retreat from Moscow. Vidor's film shows troops leaving the city in orderly columns which gradually disintegrate as chill autumn winds turn first to rain, and then to blinding blizzard; the roads are churned into mud, before disappearing under the snow. Bondarchuk's version accurately shows the columns passing by human skeletons still unburied on the Borodino battlefield. A guerrilla raid led by Davidov — whom Tolstoy modelled on Col. David Denisov — results in the rescue of Pierre, but the death of Natasha's brother Petya. The French suffer terribly from the cold, but the Russian pursuers seem to be able to maintain a neatness of appearance which must be regarded as poetic licence.

The military aspects of the novel end at Vilna, when Kutuzov orders the captured standards to be laid at Alexander's feet. Bondarchuk's version shows exhausted French soldiers surrendering *en masse*, and the lowering of their flags before a triumphant Kutuzov. The Vidor version continues the story further by portraying the crossing of the River Beresina, an event which took place on 25-28 November but which is hardly mentioned in the novel. Thousands of French are seen crossing a hastily-built pontoon bridge. The Russians move up artillery on sleds and succeed in blowing away part of the bridge, sending many soldiers to their deaths in the fast, freezing waters and trapping much of the French army on the eastern bank.

In Bondarchuk's film it is Napoleon, rather than the French soldier, who is the real enemy. Pierre saves the life of a Capt. Ramballe of the 13th Light Brigade in Moscow, Ramballe, portrayed as a likeable character, is later captured during the retreat. In contrast, Napoleon is seen to be responsible for the invasion, 'an event contrary to all human reason

and nature'. (Unsurprisingly, the fact that Czar Alexander had contemplated invading France the previous year is not alluded to.)

BAGRATION, THE POLES, and MARSHAL YORCK

In Bondarchuk's *War and Peace* the part of Bagration — complete with his strange fleece cap — was played by Giuli Chokhnelidze, an appropriate choice in that both general and actor came from Georgia. Twenty years later Chokhnelidze was able to fulfill an ambition to star in a film solely devoted to his hero. The result was *Bagration* (1984), a Mosfilm/Gruziafilm production co-directed by Chokhnelidze and fellow Georgian Karaman Mgheladze.

The first part begins with the wounded Bagration thinking back over his past life, and in particular the events leading up to Borodino. Considerable time is given to the complex political relations between Russia and France prior to 1812, and to the fierce arguments between Bagration and Barclay de Tolly over the strategy to be adopted against the invaders. The sequences depicting the burning of

Smolensk and the battle of Borodino are most impressive, skilfully combining stock footage from the Bondarchuk film with newly shot material.

The second part deals with the desperate fight to save the hero's life. Fragments of metal are removed from his leg during a grisly operation; but his spirits are raised by the sight of his favourite white horse, and by memories evoked by a sword presented to him by the revered Gen. Suvorov. When news arrives of the fall of Moscow the distraught Bagration dons his uniform for the last time in the hope of rejoining the fight; he collapses and dies, the victim of an infection beyond the powers of his doctors.

The retreat from Moscow has featured in many other films, although usually very briefly. Ridley Scott's *The Duellists* (1977) — something of a cult among Napoleonic enthusiasts for its careful reconstruction of the changing appearance of French cavalry over 15 years — was based on Jack London's novella which was itself originally published as *The Point of Honour*. It concerns a series of duels between two hussar officers in Napoleon's

army. Harvey Keitel plays Gilbert Feraud, a dedicated Bonapartist who continues to challenge Armand d'Hubert (David Carradine), ostensibly over his suspected lack of commitment to the Emperor. The story spans the years 1801 to 1816, during which time they are both promoted from lieutenants to generals. The duels take place during lulls between a number of campaigns; but there is a sequence set during the Russian retreat — shot near Aviemore in Scotland — when for once the two characters help, rather than fight one another by beating off Cossacks. The art direction of *The Duellists* attracted particular praise. Most of the ironies of the original story are lost; but the duels are vividly portrayed, and the film boasts some striking location photography in the Dordogne.

When considering this campaign, some mention should be made of Woody Allen's *Love and Death* (1975), a lampoon on Russian film directors such as Eisenstein and authors such as Dostoyevsky, Chekov and Tolstoy. Though Woody's world is inhabited by all sorts of wild incongruities and 20th-century allusions, the battle scenes are not unspectacular, this time using the resources of the Hungarian army.

Most films set in 1812 give little indication of the cosmopolitan nature of the *Grande Armée*, which included Italians, Swiss, Poles, Danes, Dutch, Portuguese, Spaniards, and representatives of several German states. Andrej Wajda's *Popioly* — 'Ashes' (1965) was based on the novel by Stephan Zeromski, and concerned the plight of the Poles who fought for Napoleon. Their hope was the re-creation of a Poland united from the fragments divided between Russia, Prussia and Austria

The re-creation of the bridge over the Beresina for Vidor's War and Peace, which extended the scope of the story beyond Tolstoy's original in this respect, giving the film one of its most impressive sequences.



Convincing costume was a strength of Ridley Scott's *The Duellists*, and in the retreat from Moscow segment Harvey Keitel — with David Carradine, background — wears an accurate mixture of French, Russian and improvised gear.

Below:

Werner Krauss — second from left — in the title rôle in Hans Muller's *Yorck* (1931).

in the late 18th century.

The film has scenes set during Napoleon's early campaigns in Italy, the Peninsular War and the Franco-Austrian campaign of 1809; and the final sequences feature the retreat from Moscow. Napoleon's sleigh, drawn by three splendid horses, speeds along in complete silence past abandoned cannon, thousands of corpses, and frost-bitten cripples dressed in tattered remnants of their once resplendent uniforms. A snow-blinded Polish officer rises from the ground and stretches out his hand as if for help: the Emperor does not appear to notice him, and he is left alone. Certainly, Wajda was true to the spirit of the novel by showing history as cruel and squalid rather than glamorous; but in doing so he became the centre of controversy because of the implications it held for the present day. Those in Poland who thought that by 1965 the country had reached some kind of political maturity attacked the film, while those discontented with Poland's recent history defended it.

As Napoleon retreated into Poland the Prussians defected, turning against the French whose occupation of their homeland had turned them into reluctant allies. The process by which Prussia's resurgence began was explained in Hans Muller's German film *Yorck* (1931). The film shows how King Frederick Wilhelm III agreed to send Prussian troops to aid Napoleon's invasion of Russia, and how this caused a split in the Prussian officer corps. A Prussian contingent led by Field-Marshal Yorck (Werner Kraus) forms part of Macdonald's corps which



advances into Russia to the north of the main body of the *Grande Armée*. During the retreat they become aware of Napoleon's famous 29th Bulletin of the Army, issued at Molodetchna on 3 December 1812, which described the army's demoralised state. Yorck meets the Russian Gen. Diebitsch-Zabolkonsky, leading to the Convention of Tauroggen of 30 December, whereby the Prussians agreed to remain neutral for two months. This was finally ratified at the Convention of Kalisch on 28 February 1813, by whose terms the Prussians formally joined the Sixth Coalition against Napoleon.

Austria, Sweden, and a number of German states joined the Coalition. Napoleon retreated through Poland into Germany; and after the battle of Leipzig, 16–18 October 1813, the combined Russian, Prussian and Austrian armies forced the French back across the Rhine. For a second year in succession Napoleon had lost almost half a million men. In spite of a well-conducted campaign he could not prevent the Allied forces occupying Paris, leading to the First Abdication of 6 April 1814.

It is not difficult to understand why the 1813–14 campaigns have been ignored in films. For the French the story is one of prolonged and humiliating national defeat. For the Russians, including Tolstoy, interest faded once the French had been driven from the actual soil of the Motherland. Although it was the biggest battle of the Napoleonic Wars in terms of numbers, the three-day struggle around Leipzig was too inconclusive and confusing to provide a climax appropriate for an epic screen production. It is not until Napoleon's return from Elba and the dramatic events of the 'Hundred Days' that history once again provides inspiration to film-makers; and Waterloo is the most filmed, as well as the most chronicled, of all the battles of the Napoleonic Wars. [M]

THE FIRST HIGHLAND REGIMENT

PHILIP J. HAYTHORNTHWAITE

Paintings by ANGUS McBRIDE

The contribution made to the campaigns of the British Army by the Highland regiments is arguably second to none. Yet the origin of these regiments was shrouded in prejudice and uncertainty, born of the English belief that Highlanders in general were unprincipled barbarians, possibly cannibals, who periodically left their mountain homes to descend with fire and sword upon the honest, civilised inhabitants of the south. The English opinion of the Highlanders is exemplified by a press report in the *Derby Mercury*, 12 December 1745: 'They ... appeared in general to answer to the description we have long had of them; viz't ... a parcel of shabby, lousy, pittiful looking fellows, mixed up with old men and boys; dressed in dirty plaids, and as dirty shirts, without breeches ...'

In the late 17th century, though Gaelic culture was the equal in its way of any found further south, there was some truth in the English perception of the Highlands and their inhabitants. Highland life was dominated by the last vestige of feudalism, a tribal twilight in which chieftains acknowledged little law save that of the broadsword, where blood-feud, raid and counter-raid were commonplace. Maj. Gen. David Stewart of Garth, chronicler of the early Highlanders, recorded how '... a Highlander would fight to the last drop of his blood at the command of his Chief, and if he thought his honour, or that of his clan, insulted he was equally ready to call for redress and to seek revenge; yet with this disposition and though generally armed few lives were lost except in general engagements and skirmishes', duels often being decided by the first shedding of blood.

Yet the endemic lawlessness of the Highlands, and consequent fears that it might spill over into the civilised south, caused the government to institute Independent Companies of Highlanders to police their

own glens and to assert a token rule of law as early as 1624.

THE INDEPENDENT COMPANIES

On 3 August 1667 King Charles II ordered the Earl of Atholl to raise as many men as he considered necessary 'to be a constant guard for securing the peace of the Highlands', to prevent 'the lifting of creachs' (plunder) and to stop 'blackmail' (i.e. the 'protection racket'); and to harry the 'thieves and broken men' who practiced such incivilities.

The Independent Companies were not the success that was envisaged. Their ideas on law enforcement were coloured by ancient clan prejudice, and bribery was widespread. The Companies themselves defrauded the government by claiming pay for twice as many men as there were enrolled (though they were hardly unusual in this). Following their failure to prevent the Jacobite rising of 1715, the Companies were disbanded in 1717; and faith was put in the Disarming Acts, which made the carrying of weapons an offence punishable by transportation. They had little effect;



'Samuel M'Pherson, Corporal, in his Highland Regimentals' [sic]: print by G. Bickham, 1743. The kilt is shown incorrectly divided at the front, and the plaid is looped to the right shoulder instead of the left. Note the 'shoulder-knot' indicative of corporal's rank; and the bow-shaped cockade on the bonnet, shown here clearer than elsewhere.

with the English garrisons virtually marooned and lawlessness still prevalent, an independent police force was still necessary.

In 1725 six new Independent Companies were formed, drawn initially from the loyal Whig clans — three companies of Campbells and one each of Frasers, Grants and Munros. These were commanded by Simon, Lord Lovat, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell and Col. William Grant of Ballindalloch as captains; and John Campbell of Carrick, Colin Campbell of Skipness and George Munro of Culcainn as lieutenants.

Marshal George Wade's recruiting instructions stated that 'no man to be listed under size of 5 foot 6 inches'; privates were to receive 8d. per diem, and pipers one

shilling. The companies numbered some 500 men, mostly of 'a superior rank in life', as the younger sons of Highland gentry enlisted to be allowed legally to carry their traditional weapons; plus a number of adventurers — poachers turned gamekeepers, perhaps. Each man carried his own familiar weapons, but for the first time their uniform was regulated.

The character of their personnel precluded the application of ordinary military discipline, which was beneath the pride of gentleman or Highland adventurer: thus an English engineer, Capt. Burt, wrote incredulously that each 'private gentleman-soldier' had servants to attend him, the soldier riding and the servants following on foot with his weapons.

Farquar Shaw, one of the 'mutineers' shot at the Tower on 18 July 1743. One of the Bowles 'Highland Mutineers' series, this engraving makes the usual error in the pattern of tartan but is otherwise accurate.



The activities of these Independent Companies are described in the biography of the remarkable Sgt. Donald Macleod, which despite its likely exaggerations is the earliest account of such services by a member of the unit.

Aged about 37 in 1725, Macleod was a sergeant in the Royal Scots stationed at Newcastle when he heard of the formation of the Independent Companies. Though a valued member of his regiment, Macleod resigned immediately and walked to the Highlands to enlist, because he was 'fond of the Highland dress and music, and of the society of his countrymen'. As an experienced campaigner and champion swordsman, Macleod was immediately appointed sergeant; and spent the next 15 years or so 'in a manner very agreeable': 'hunting after incorrigible robbers', recruiting, instructing the broadsword, hunting, shooting, fishing, danc-

ing, drinking and 'toying with young women'.

Macleod appears to have been more honest than some of his fellows, as his dealings with James Roy Stewart of Strathspey indicate. Sent to arrest this notorious cattle-rustler (alias 'The Red Robber'), Macleod surrounded Stewart's house with 30 men and went in alone, to find Stewart abed. The men shared breakfast and (in time-honoured fashion) Stewart attempted to bribe the sergeant with 100 guineas. Macleod said he would rather 'go with you and steal cattle' than shirk his duty; but the pleading of Mrs. Stewart and her children so touched his heart that he dropped the charges on condition that Stewart returned 150 newly-stolen cat-

tle and provided breakfast for Macleod's men! Space prevents quotation of many other anecdotes from Macleod's memoirs, as colourful as anything to be found in the annals of the Old West.

The quality of these early recruits may be gauged by Macleod's later career: he fought at Quebec aged 71 (and was twice wounded); and in 1790, allegedly aged 102, he walked the 500 miles from Edinburgh to London (accompanied by his nine-year-old son, the youngest of the 16 sons 'that he knew of' — his eldest was 80), and claimed while in London to have won a foot-race for 100 guineas, covering ten miles in 143 minutes!

Marshal Wade's road-building had more effect in suppressing outlawry than did the Independent Companies, which were much criticized, and between which internal friction caused by ancient tribal animosities sometimes led to bloodshed.

It is from this period that the name 'Black Watch' originates: traditionally, the companies were given dark tartan, thus presenting a more sombre appearance than the English *Saighdearan Dearg* ('red soldiers'). The name 'Black Watch' (*Am Freiceadan Dubh*) came probably from this tartan, and from their duty of 'watching' the Highlands. (The name did not become an official designation until 1861).

THE 43rd OF FOOT

With the approach of war with France, the government yielded to military pressure to consolidate the Independent Companies into a line regiment; and by Royal Warrant of November 1739 the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay was commanded to raise four more companies (not exclusively of Highlanders) and form the whole into the 43rd Regiment of Foot. It mustered in May 1740, uniformly dressed (probably for the first time), but still armed with personal weapons. Many men of the original six companies appear not to have been aware of their

change of status, and some may have been deceived by their officers into believing that their duties would be unaltered.

Their character, however, remained: keen to inspect his new regiment, George II sent for two Highlanders to perform their drill in London. After their reception at St. James's Palace, the king gave each man a guinea. Furious that Highland gentlemen should be 'tipped' like servants, both threw the coins to the palace porter as they left!

At the end of 1742 it was determined that the 43rd should be sent to Flanders, so that if a Highland uprising occurred (as it did in 1745), 'there will be eight hundred fewer rebels there!' Those who knew the Highlanders were alarmed, since the original recruits had enlisted

Opposite:

Fig. 1: Officer (left) and sergeant, 43rd; engraving by N. C. Goodnight, copied from a Schmdhamer print based on the brothers Van der Gucht. This is probably a reasonable representation of NCOs' and officers' uniform of the early period, differing little from that of the rank-and-file except in quality of manufacture. The NCO carries a halberd, indicating his rank. The colourist has mistakenly rendered the officer's shoulder sash as green, whereas in actual fact it was crimson.

Fig. 2: A coloured version of the illustration from the 1742 *Cloathing Book* (which was reprinted in 1895). Probably the earliest representation of Highland regimental uniform, it suffers from the common failing of artists unfamiliar with Highland dress, in this case omitting the sporran and showing the tartan as diamond checks cut on the bias. It implies that the hose were made of the same material as the plaid, again probably in error.

Fig. 3: A crude Italian print depicting a Highlander of 1745, including the common error of showing the kilt split at the front.

Fig. 4: A coloured version of an engraving from *The New Highland Military Discipline* (George Grant, London 1757), showing what appears to be the earliest uniform of 'Lord John Murry's [sic] Highlanders', i.e. the 43rd. The small size of the sporran may not be in error, but the divided kilt with tartan worn on the bias certainly is.



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4



'A Highland Piper; A Highlander in his Regiments, A Highland Drummer' (engraving by Bowles after J. S. Müller). One of the earliest depictions of Highland uniform; note that the drummer carries a pistol on a strap over the shoulder, like that of the rank-and-file.

only to police their own glens. In spring 1743 the regiment began to march south, the men being told that they were to be reviewed by the king and then return home. Many were unconvinced and deserted, their places being filled by 'scrubs' or 'broken men'. However, despite this leavening of bad characters the English who saw them pass were amazed to find that the 43rd were not naked cannibals but courteous, disciplined troops who always removed their bonnets to say grace before eating.

Mutiny

Their demeanour changed abruptly when they discovered that the king had gone abroad, and they were assailed by rumours that they were destined for the plague-ridden West Indies. Told that

they were to embark for Flanders, they believed that they were again being deceived, and over 100 deserted *en masse* and began to march home. The country was in panic for four days until they were cornered by the troops sent after them, and after a day's negotiation most laid down their arms. But strangely, during the march public opinion had swung behind them, their escapade being compared with the march of the Ten Thousand, and their apparent leader, Cpl. Samuel Macpherson, to Xenophon.

The government had no such sympathy, court-martialling the 'mutineers' and convicting 139 (of whom only 60 could speak English). Taking into account that they had been deceived and cheated of pay and allowances, most received 'lenient' treatment, being drafted to the West Indies, Georgia and the Mediterranean. As they would not reveal who led the mutiny, three supposed ring-leaders were shot: Samuel Macpherson and his brother Malcolm, and Pte. Farquar Shaw, a formidable man said to be capable of straightening horseshoes with his bare hands.

THE FLANDERS CAMPAIGN

The remainder of the 43rd had been rushed to Flanders before the courts-martial, to prevent a second mutiny or an attempt to rescue the prisoners; and in Flanders their reputation was restored. At the behest of their lieutenant-colonel, Sir Robert Munro of Foulis (who since his appointment in 1739 had been responsible for their training, and who commanded them in Flanders), the Duke of Cumberland sanctioned the use of traditional Highland tactics to utilise their peculiar skills. Stalking was part of this; but the main tactic was the traditional Highland charge with the broadsword.

Munro of Foulis — though himself too monstrously corpulent to indulge in athletic fieldcraft — instructed his regiment 'to clap to the ground on receiving the French fire, then instantly after its discharge, they sprang up and drove off the enemy in confusion before they could reload'.

The Highland charge was a terrifying experience, and at Fontenoy (where the reputation of Highland troops was founded) threw

the French into as great alarm as it did the English in 1745. A French pamphlet on Fontenoy described how 'The Highland furies rushed in upon us with more violence than ever did a sea, driven by a tempest'.

The front ranks of the 43rd seem to have executed such charges after handing their muskets to the rear rank, having fired both musket and pistol (the latter then being thrown at the enemy's faces) before charging with the broadsword. The sword was the most effective weapon, as the several charges at Fontenoy (and the covering of the retreat) proved. All were skilled swordsmen; but Sgt. James Campbell in particular achieved great renown, killing nine Frenchmen with his sword before a roundshot carried away his left arm as he was trying to kill a tenth. Even the chaplain was seen at the head of the regiment, waving his broadsword. Munro of Foulis ordered him to the rear on pain of forfeiting his commission, whereupon the chaplain charged the enemy, shouting 'Damn my commission!'

As described at the time, 'Their courage was the theme of admiration through-

out all Britain'; and as a reward for his regiment's conduct at Fontenoy Munro of Foulis was given the colonelcy of the 37th Foot — which ironically led to his death at the hands of other Highlanders, albeit Jacobites, at Falkirk in 1746.

Later in 1745 the 43rd was withdrawn to Britain, but mercifully was not committed against the Jacobites. Renumbered as the 42nd in 1748, the regiment became and remains today probably the most famous Highland corps in the British Army, and its reputation led to the formation of many more Highland regiments. The repressions following the '45' all but destroyed the continuity of Highland traditions, but they were kept alive in the Highland regiments; and the army's rôle in the preservation of Highland culture was of great significance.

UNIFORMS

Questions persist about the uniform of the first Highland troops, though the costume of the 1740s is depicted in a number of contemporary sources: the 1742 *Cloathing Book*; a series of portraits entitled *The Mutineers* published by Bowles (1743); engravings by the Dutch brothers Van de Gucht, c. 1743; a set of prints by Jno. Sebastian Müller published 1743-50 (apparently copied from the Van de Guchts); two figures by B. Guckman, 1743; a series showing a Highlander performing the 'Manual Exercise'; a print of James Campbell entitled *The Hero of Fontenoy*; and two sets of German prints, one by J. C. Schmidhamer (perhaps as late as 1760) and the other a panorama of a regiment on the march in Flanders — somewhat fanciful, as it shows kilted officers riding horses, while Schmidhamer shows mounted officers correctly wearing *truibhs* (trews). Other sources include William Delacour's painting *The Pinch of Snuff*, which because of the unusual tartan it illustrates may represent the uniform of one

of the new Independent Companies raised in 1745-46. In many cases the depiction of uniform is complicated by the fact that the artists did not understand the intricacies of Highland dress, and even less the weave of tartan.

The Independent Companies were probably not clothed in a completely uniform manner, as Wade's order of 15 May 1725 noted:

'The officers commanding companies take care to provide a plaid clothing and bonnet in the Highland dress for the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, belonging to their companies, the plaid of each company to be as near as they can of the same sort of colour; that besides the plaid clothing, to be furnished each year, each soldier is to receive from his captain a pair of brogues every six weeks, a pair of stockings every three months, a shirt and cravat every six

months'.

This implies that though the members of each company might be dressed alike, there was no necessity for the various companies to wear the same uniform. It has been presumed that the early companies wore a red jacket and waistcoat (as did the Independent Companies raised in 1745); but these may have been restricted to parade, as Stewart of Garth records members of the Companies dining with his grandfather: 'The following morning they rode off in their usual dress, a tartan jacket and truis, ornamented with gold lace embroidery, or twisted gold cords, as was the fashion at the time, while their servants carried their military clothing and arms'.

An order from Wade to Lord Lovat dated 22 September 1725 intriguingly mentions that 'The number of their badges to put before each man's name [on the

muster-rolls] and when you have cause to change any of your men or fill up vacancies, you are to give the badge to the man who succeeds'. Loyalist Highlanders in 1745 wore a red cross on the bonnet, but from the above it would appear that each man was given a numbered identity-badge.

Although *truibhs* would be worn when mounted (as Stewart of Garth records), the principal item of costume was the *breacan-an-sheilidh* or 'belted plaid', a combined kilt and cloak made from a 12-yard length of *breacan* or tartan cloth. The lower part, fastened around the waist by a belt, became the kilt, with the remainder looped up at the rear of the left shoulder, where it could be used as a cloak. The *sheilidh beg* or 'little kilt' (a ready-made kilt with pleats stitched in, which could be worn with a separate shoulder-plaid) was worn in later years by the military in undress uniform, and may have been worn by the early Highland troops, but there is no conclusive evidence.

Tartan setts

The design of tartan worn by the Independent Companies is unknown, and probably depended upon the availability of material; at this time there were no regulated 'clan tartans', though certain basic patterns seem to have been popular in certain districts, and a few had family connections. Delacour's painting shows a curious, dark tartan which may represent a 'company' pattern. Various theories have been advanced as to the tartan worn by the Independent Companies, from each company wearing that of its captain (unlikely) to a uniform 'government' sett; but



Highland private and corporal (engraving by N. C. Goodnight after the brothers Van der Gucht). This shows how the belted plaid could be worn as a cloak; alternatively, it could be allowed to drop down from the waist to resemble a very long and double-thickness kilt. The corporal (right) is identified by his shoulder-knot.

probably the companies originally wore various dark patterns made from whatever cloth their captains could purchase locally. The preferred pattern was probably like that of Clan Campbell, from which it is possible that the 'government' pattern evolved (three of the original company commanders being Campbells); or it is possible that the Campbell tartan evolved from the 'government'!

Piper Donald Macdonnell; a variation of the Bowles 'mutineer' print. The pipe banner is sometimes shown as a red cross on yellow in early prints; perhaps a red cross on white might also be possible?



Whatever the case, it is clear that when the 43rd was formed in 1739 a uniform tartan *was* worn, and that it was the sett known as 'government', later 'Black Watch' — though at this period it is believed that the shades of blue and green were not so dark as those worn later, so that the blue, green and black threads were more distinct. Variations are known to have existed: Morier's painting of 1751 shows a red overstripe worn by the grenadiers. Traditionally this was added by Lord John Murray when he became colonel of the 43rd in 1745, but evidence is unclear,

though as a 'company' distinction it existed into the 19th century. (It is known that a red over-stripe was worn by another Highland regiment, Loudoun's, raised 1745 and disbanded 1748.) It was from the 'government' sett that recognised clan tartans evolved.

Contemporary prints are of little help in determining the exact design, for many artists (unconversant with Highland dress) made errors. Not having the stitched-in pleats of later kilts, the *brecan-an-fheilidh* tended to be creased by the dirk suspended from the belt, suggesting a division at the front of the kilt which is exaggerated in some engravings. The pattern of tartan is very fanciful in some illustrations, including those showing the material cut on the bias (never the case); whilst hand-colouring of prints results in absurd patterns such as diamond-shaped checks of red, blue, yellow and white. Kilts at this time seem to have been shorter than those worn later, one source noting that the leg was uncovered for three inches above the knee. (The traditional question regarding the kilt was answered by a French witness to the 200 Highlanders wrecked off the French coast in 1749: '*Il y est tres véridique qu'ils sont sans culotte dessous*'!)

The short, tailless, square-cut red jacket was single-breasted and collarless, with buttons shown either in pairs or singly, and deep, turned-back, divided cuffs and large 'flaps'. The lining (and thus the cuff) was buff, described by later sources as a yellowish shade but perhaps off-white or cream. The 1742 *Cloathing Book* shows white lace loops or stitched button-holes, which are omitted by most other sources; possibly the lace may have been a distinction of NCO rank, but this is unlikely, as other prints depict the usual corporal's shoulder-knot. Beneath the short jacket was worn a red, single-breasted waistcoat (shown with the same white lace in the 1742

Opposite:

Angus McBride's reconstruction shows a private and an officer of the 43rd, c. 1743. This represents the likely original appearance of the regiment, with the short coat and waistcoat having buttons arranged evenly, and without lace; though the *Cloathing Book* depicts buttons in pairs and possible white lace loops (or button-hole stitching). Even after the Independent Companies were 'regimented', it is likely that considerable latitude existed with regard to clothing and equipment. The officer's coat is plain but for silver-embroidered button holes, as shown by a number of sources — though a portrait of the Earl of Loudoun in the uniform of his own regiment shows a more ornate costume, with a lapelled coat more in the style of the English infantry, with cuffs, flaps and lapels having broad lace edging; it is conceivable that such may also have been worn by officers of the 43rd. Buff leather belts are equally plausible at this time, as in the Loudoun portrait.

book), lined with buff.

Legwear consisted of red and white checked hose, 'like harlequins' according to one witness, tied with red garters. This design was also worn by civilians, the traditional name *cath dath* ('battle colour') probably being a misinterpretation, as the term seems to have been derived from the Lowland word *caddis*, meaning striped or checked in any colour. Footwear consisted of buckled shoes.

The headdress was a soft, flat, dark blue cloth bonnet in civilian style, with a tuft on top, shown variously as red or dark blue/black. Some sources show a blue headband, though others (including Delacour) show a red border, or red and white check, the latter perhaps a ribbon adjuster threaded through the head-band. It is not known whether this 'dicing' was introduced at this early period, however, and the story that it was copied from the *fesse-chequey* of the Arms of the House of Stuart in order to attract ex-Jacobites as recruits is a tenuous theory. The *Cloathing Book* shows a cloth badge at the left of the bonnet, probably a black Hanoverian cockade but



'The Hero of Fontenoy': engraving of James Campbell by R. Grave, apparently an accurate depiction of the first uniform.

perhaps the red saltaire of the Independent Companies already mentioned. There is little evidence at this early period to indicate that a bearskin tuft or feather was worn in the bonnet, such items only being shown in pictures of the 1750s (though Delacour shows a tuft). Not until 1747 did Highland grenadiers adopt the fur cap, in which style they adorned the rest of the army.

Accoutrements and weapons

Belts were made of leather, often shown blackened, with brass buckles and fittings. The broadsword was suspended from a black belt over the right shoulder; and the cartridge-box from a waist belt, either at the front or to the right side, a number of sources showing the box bearing a 'GR' cypher, with or without a crown above, probably stamped or embossed in the leather rather than as metal badges. The waist-belt and box are frequently shown as buff in colour, despite the shoulder belt being black. The sporran was of the usual small size for the period, made of goat, deer, otter or seal skin, usually with a metal clasp and hanging leather thongs.

The bayonet (usually carried at the left front of the waist belt) and musket were government issue, as were broadswords ultimately (with the basket hilts lacquered black); but there was some delay in the issue of swords, so that for a time each member of the 43rd carried his own sidearm. The dirk (hung from the waist belt) and the all-steel, claw-butted Highland pistols carried by each man were similarly 'personal' weapons. The pistols are often shown hung on a cord over the shoulder, and examples are known (usually with a belt hook) stamped 'HR' ('Highland Regiment'). Sergeants carried the broadsword and dirk, and a halberd



instead of a musket, one source suggesting that pay-sergeants carried instead the ancient *taugh* or Lochaber axe with cleaver blade and hook end, though this weapon was probably seen only rarely after 1715. Shields or targets were not official issue, but their use seems to have been sanctioned: Grose mentions that they were carried in Flanders in 1745, and the panorama mentioned above shows several of the traditional circular pattern. These are decorated with either a reversed and interlaced 'GR' cypher, the rampant lion and rectangular border from the Scottish Royal Arms, or (even more unlikely) the three leopards of England. In actual fact the targets prob-

ably bore a brass stud decoration upon their leather-covered faces, but evidence is inconclusive.

Officers and pipers

Officers were armed with fusils, and their uniforms bore silver lace, but apart from the use of a crimson shoulder sash their uniform was probably like that of the men, though of finer manufacture and with weapons of the highest quality. Great latitude was probably allowed, as much later in the century officers were still wearing their family crests and similar ornaments on their equipment.

The élite of the regiment were the pipers, as they were in civilian life; irrespective of

their ancestry, their musical skill gave them a unique place in the Highland hierarchy. Though not officially sanctioned in the British Army until 1854, pipers were an indispensable asset; in 1725 the Independent Companies were each ordered to include a drummer, but pipers were essential 'because the Highland men would hardly be brought to march without'. One captain had to settle a violent argument between his two company musicians as to which should take the place of honour, the piper saying indignantly, 'ods wuds [sic] Sir and shall a little rascal that beats upon a sheepskin take the right hand of me that am a musician?!'

The pipes had two or three drones (both types in use at the time), without the later coloured ribbons. Several pictures show a large pipe-banner bearing a red cross on a yellow (or white?) field; but though two 'mutineer' prints and Müller both show this pattern, all may have been derived from a single original source. MI

Sources

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Anatomy of a Special Forces Camp (2)



GORDON L. ROTTMAN

Paintings by RONALD B. VOLSTAD

Part 1 of this article (*'MI' No. 9*) described and illustrated in detail the construction and defences of Chi Linh Special Forces Camp at the time the author served there in the late 1960s, and illustrated the dress of SF, LLDB, CSF and civilian personnel as worn around the camp. In this concluding part the author describes the operations of the camp's 'Strikers', and we illustrate combat dress and equipment.

The Civilian Irregular Defense Group (CIDG) Camp Strike Force (CSF) was a battalion-sized unit. Strengths varied greatly according to recruiting potential in the area. Troop morale was an important factor in CSF strength: a lack of faith in the leadership of the Vietnamese Special Forces (LLDB), poor living conditions, or a series of defeats could cause troops to turn in their weapons — sometimes — and merely walk out of a camp, often signing up at another.

The Chi Linh CSF consisted of roughly 390 troops organised into three rifle companies, a combat reconnaissance platoon (CRP), and a political warfare team. Each company was composed of a different ethnic group; Co.331 consisted of Cambodians born in Vietnam's Delta region. These were members of the *Khmer*

Serei (Free Cambodia) political faction, which sought the overthrow of Cambodia's Sihanouk government — and of the Vietnamese government as well. Their conflict with the latter had its

origins centuries ago when the Vietnamese gained control of the Khmer Mekong Delta region. While their long-term objectives were not exactly in line with US and South Vietnamese policy, the Khmers were rabidly anti-Communist, and loyal (at least to USSF personnel). They were hired as a military unit with their own leaders.

Co.332 was made up of *Stieng montagnards*, the southernmost and least developed of the tribal groups. Their fieldcraft skills and easy co-existence with the jungle made them excellent fighters in that environment. Co.333 was composed of Vietnamese. *Montagnards* and Vietnamese did not normally

co-exist too peacefully, given their long-standing racial animosity. Chi Linh was fortunate in that the Vietnamese were 'country boys' from the small towns in Binh Long Province who had grown up in close proximity to the 'Yards'. The 'Cambods' got along well enough with the 'Yards', but were distant with the Vietnamese.

Unit organisation

In 1969 a company was authorised 132 troops divided into an 11-man HQ, three 32-man rifle platoons (a five-man HQ and three nine-man squads), and a

Above:

Company 332 (Montagnard) awaits the monthly pay parade. In camp CIDG troops chose to go virtually in rags for work and training details; here they wear a combination of CIDG olive fatigues, US jungle fatigues and 'tigerstripes', all so washed out and worn that they were pale green, the 'tigerstripes' bleaching out to a faintly greenish khaki. (All photographs are from the author's collection.)

Left:

A collection of VC ordnance captured by Co.332 early in June 1969, including RPG-2 and -7 rockets and propellant charges, 60mm mortar rounds, home-made hand grenades, bangalore torpedoes, telephone wire, and AK-47 assault rifles — in fact, Type 56s, Chinese-made like most of these items. Two A-333 members who accompanied the operation pose rather reluctantly; the LLDB NCO in the doorway of the LLDB Team House was even less inclined to pose.



25-man weapons platoon (HQ, mortar and machine gun sections). Chi Linh's companies averaged 120 troops. There were no weapons platoons, since the 60mm mortars remained in the camp for defence and

proved impractical for tactical operations. This was partly due of the weapons' and ammunition's weight and bulk, but to the fact that

air, and attack helicopter support was so readily available. The machine guns were carried within the rifle platoons. Troops were assigned to the weapons platoon on paper, but they functioned as part of the rifle squads.

Rifle squads were organised using the US concept of two fire teams, which the Cambods called 'cells' following NVA/VC practice — a term which tended to bother visiting non-SF US officers. During operations about 20 troops remained in camp to provide security in the company's perimeter sector, and to ensure that other troops kept their distance from the women. Nonetheless, several 'amus-

ing' situations developed, since racial and political animosities were ignored during certain night non-combat operations within the camp...

Firepower was lean when compared to US and ARVN units, but adequate. In the spring of 1969 the CIDG were issued the M16A1 rifle, replacing a collection of M1 rifles, M2 carbines, and M1918A2 BARs. Although only one 40mm M79 grenade launcher was authorised per platoon, and two M60 machine guns per company, Chi Linh had managed to acquire enough M79s to equip each platoon with two. M72 light anti-tank weapons (LAW), M18A1 Claymore mines, and hand grenades were also carried.

The combat reconnaissance platoon was made up of 34 Cambods and 'Yards formed into an HQ and three squads with three M79s and an M60. The 16-man political warfare team consisted of Vietnamese tasked with psychological warfare and civil affairs operations within the camp and the nearby montagnard village.

The mission

CSF operations were simple, consisting principally of interdiction missions directed at the infiltration trail system to the west of the camp, and sweeps of the rubber plantations to the north. Two USSF and one LLDB personnel accompanied each of the usually five-day operations. One company was always in the field, one provided internal camp security and work details, and the third conducted training and external security.

Preparations began the day before an operation. Orders, rations, and ammunition were issued. Most ammunition, beyond a basic load, was turned in after an operation, but much was socked away in hidden caches. This was tolerated, but the Khmers took it to the extreme, often needing to be resupplied with almost a full load. (It was suspected that

Ron Volstad's reconstructions illustrate (top) US Special Forces NCO, 1969.

SF NCOs accompanying Strike Force operations outfitted themselves almost identically to the CIDG Strikers, both because the uniform and equipment items were most readily available, and because they did not wish to stand out from the troops any more than was unavoidable. Most were armed with the M16A1 rifle; few carried more exotic weapons, since ammunition resupply would have been more difficult — and since the enemy tended to concentrate their fire on weapons that sounded different. SF NCOs carried more than just the bare essentials to exist in the field: since they usually doubled as their companies' medics, medical supplies were important, as were various air/ground marking devices.

(Bottom) Grenadier, CIDG Strike Force, 1969.

This Khmer platoon grenadier is armed with the 6.2lb. M79 grenade launcher, one of the most effective weapons used in Vietnam. It could lob its 40mm HE projectile out to an effective range of 350 metres, although local conditions often restricted its use to less than 100 metres. The HE round had an effective casualty radius against standing targets of 25 metres, but a danger radius of up to 130 metres — which meant it had to be used with caution. The HE round armed itself within between 14 and 27 metres after leaving the barrel, but even an unarmed round actually striking a human target at close range was devastating. Various signal rounds were also available. Ammunition was carried in canteen covers and in tan bandoliers — here the straps are cut off and a cluster of bandolier pockets is attached to the pack. Note very faded 'tigerstripe' clothing.



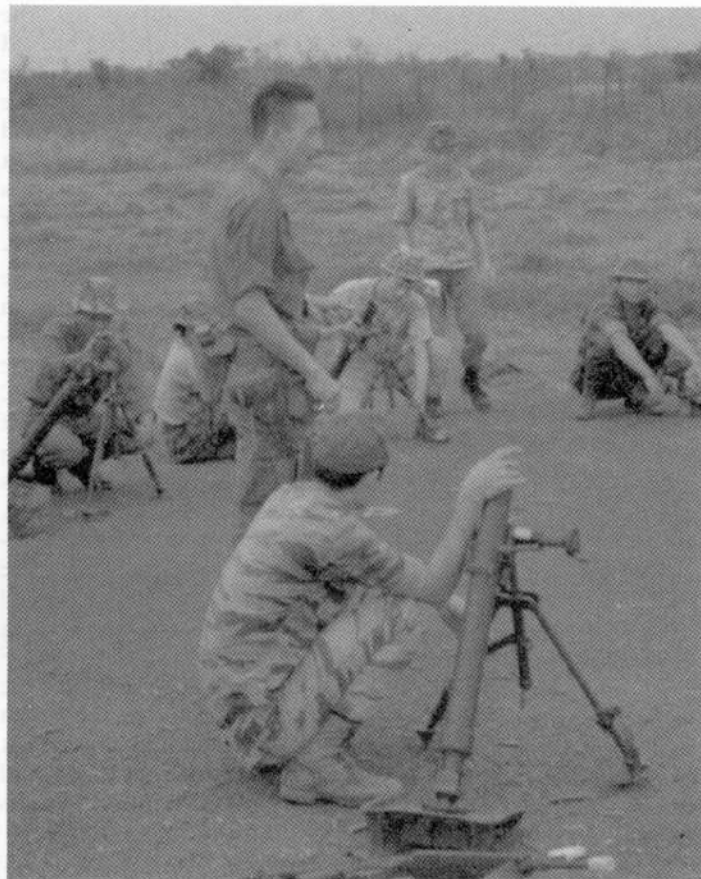
they maintained caches outside the camp, which found their way to *Khmer Serei* stockpiles.)

The company assembled on the morning of the operation to be briefed; this was followed by a pep-talk from the LLDB team CO, the political warfare team chief, and the company CO. The Vietnamese company listened alertly, nodding and applauding; the 'Yards nodded off with boredom (since the harangue had to be translated into Stieng), wondering what Vietnamese goals had to do with them anyway; the Khmers ignored the Vietnamese speeches (which they understood), chatting among themselves in Khmer — but listened raptly to their CO tell them how they were going to kill lots of *Vietnamese Communists*, and responded with their war cry.

While the platoon leaders formed their men into helicopter-sized loads, the USSF NCOs, LLDB NCO, CIDG CO, and interpreter would cluster together over a map and decide how the operation would really be conducted — usually somewhat differently than envisioned by the B team, but close enough not to affect other plans. The interpreter was an essential individual, trained at the eight-week Combat Interpreters' Course; each CSF had three or four in civilian employee status. It was not uncommon for a company to walk to their area of operations (AO) and back, but as often as possible a helicopter insertion was executed. The same choppers would then extract the company already in the field.

OPERATION 69-22

While Operation 69-22 was not a particularly spectacular one, it was typical. It was conducted in June 1969 in an effort to exploit the success of 69-21, executed in the same area a few days earlier, when Cos.331 and 332 killed 51 NVA while suffering a loss of three CIDG and one USSF, and about a dozen wounded. Co.331 was to



Members of the different companies' mortar sections train on the 60mm M19, of which Chi Linh had nine. The instructor, standing, was a medically-retired ARVN artillery captain hired by Special Forces to provide mortar training at the camps; he had learned his trade as a gunner under the French. The squatting 'Cambod' in the foreground demonstrates just how faded 'tigerstripes' could become.

Below:

Four men of LLDB Team 162 pose in front of their Team House at Chi Linh. Left to right: Team Sergeant Major, Team Commander (a first lieutenant), Team Medic and Team Weapons Specialist. Apart from the last, who has fatigues made from US leaf-pattern camouflage fabric, they wear uniforms of LLDB and Ranger camo pattern. Note the two shirt styles. Rank insignia were seldom worn; three wear their jump wings, and the Team Sergeant Major his US wings. All wear green berets, French style: see colour illustration, 'MI' No. 9.



and a change of socks — little else was required.

OPN 69-22 was conducted in the southern fringes of the massive Terra Rouge rubber plantation, 10km north-west of Chi Linh. The first lift secured the landing zone; it was seldom that LZs were 'hot', as there were simply too many areas for the enemy to cover. Less than 40 minutes later the second lift arrived. One USSF NCO accompanied each lift, with the LLDB NCO on the first. The USSF NCOs usually had a 'serious' discussion as to who got to go on the first.

Once assembled the unit moved out in a 'box' formation consisting of one platoon on-line across the front and the others in column on either side, thus forming an open-ended box; a few riflemen were placed across the box's 'bottom'. M60s were placed at the forward corners, and the command group in the centre. This allowed a simple formation in open terrain, such as the rubber, while permitting maximum firepower to the front and flanks. In the event the unit was surrounded, the two flank platoons would close in to form a triangular perimeter.

The rubber plantation's terrain was gently rolling hills of gravelly red laterite

undertake this operation, since they knew the area and were out for revenge.

Eight UH-1H 'Huey' choppers of the 12th Aviation Group arrived at 0800 hours. The first lift boarded, leaving a litter of soft drink cans on the runway. Each man was clothed in 'tiger-stripe' uniform (see 'MI' Nos. 6 & 7), wearing standard US load-bearing equipment with two or three canteens and at least nine 20-round M16A1 magazines. Grenadiers carried about 30 M79 rounds, and the squads distributed

800 rounds for each M60 between them. Each man also carried enough Patrol Indigenous Rations (PIR) for six days, consisting of a plastic bag of instant rice, some form of dried meat or fish, dried fruit bits, hot peppers, and a vitamin pill. The USSF subsisted on them as well since they were not issued C-rations (but given 'rations not available' pay). A few of the CIDG would carry live chickens for the first night's meal. PIRs were carried in a simple rucksack with a poncho, hammock,

The unit moved out at a rapid pace to the north-east, turning to the north after about 1½km, or 'clicks', passing between the burned-out villages of *Ap Xa Trach 2* and *Xa Tan Phuoc* (all villages in the TAOR were abandoned). After the unit had crossed Communal Road (CR) 346 and passed through a narrow neck of rubber, bordered on both sides by weed-choked rice paddies, a rest break was called. The unit went into a triangular perimeter with the troops assuming the 'rucksack flop'.

Ears perked up when six 60mm mortar rounds crumped into the narrow

Map section showing route of Co.331 during Operation 69-22; the broken line route represents the search of a village by one platoon. The map is 1:50,000 scale, each grid square one kilometre across.

The unit was quickly on its feet and moving. After one click, it turned south for 1½ clicks. The pace was fast, and another was break called. The weather was typical for July: partly cloudy, with both temperature and humidity in the high 90s. The unit was now in a neglected area of the rubber with some underbrush (most of the plantation was still being worked), and overlooking several roads running along the edge of the rubber on both sides of an abandoned rice paddy. Another, on which scouts found fresh NVA boot tracks, crossed the open area. One platoon established an ambush overlooking this area while the others settled down for their break.

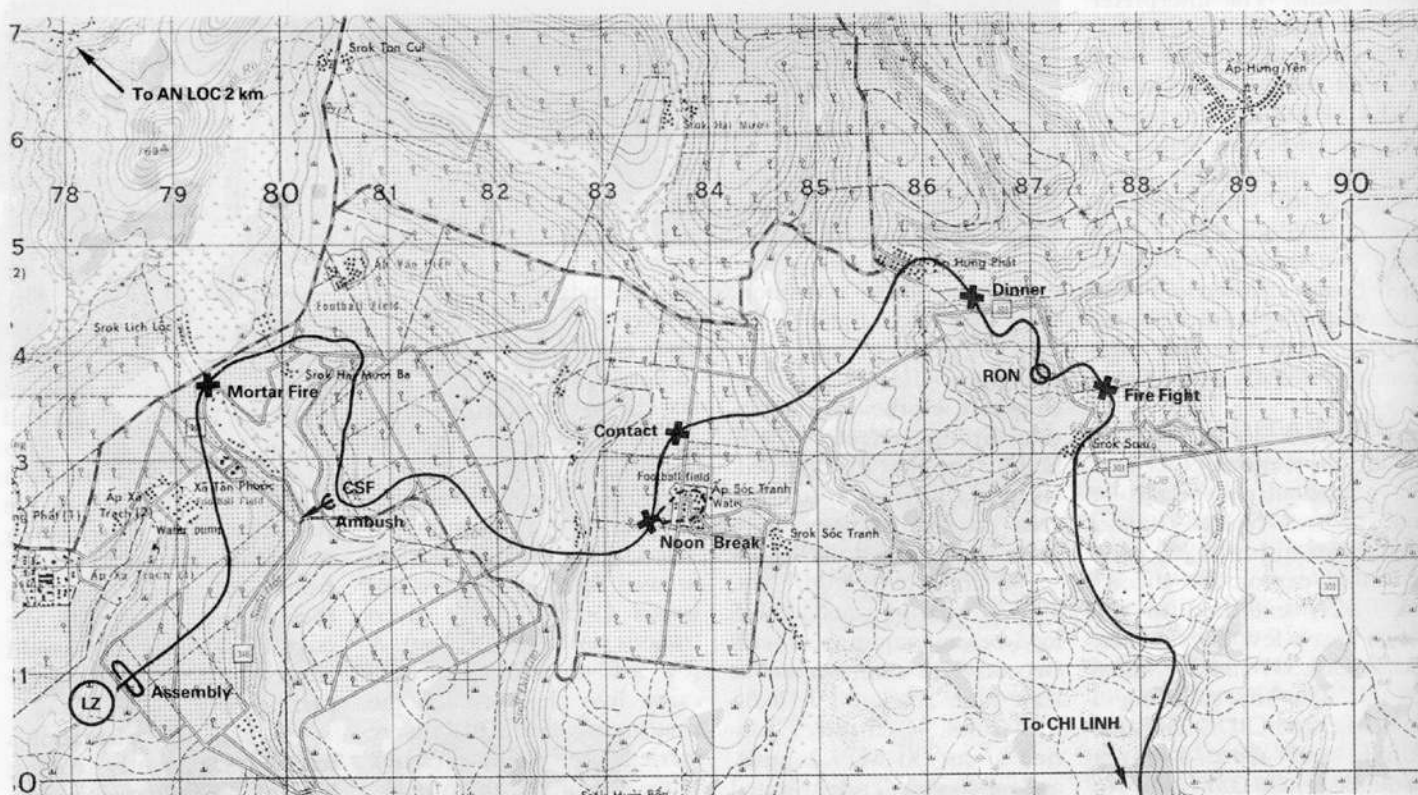
The M60s were no sooner set up than ten VC emerged

immediately. Others plunged back to the rubber, with more falling; the survivors disappeared into the rubber followed by M60 tracers. When the firing began, the second USSF NCO rushed one of the other platoons to the north flank of the ambush site; but it was all over by then, and some good-natured insults greeted the late arrivals.

Covered by two platoons, one squad cautiously moved into the kill zone where seven VC lay scattered on the road, one a female. Most were typically outfitted in peasant-style black pyjamas, although some had dark green or blue shirts. All had sandals or tennis shoes. Each had a small haversack carried by a shoulder strap. These

contained two or three magazines for their Chinese-made Type 56 (AK-47) assault rifles, several palm-leaf-wrapped rice balls, and a plastic sheet. A couple of US M26 hand grenades were also found. Each also had a US or Chinese canteen (water-bottle), or a glass soft drink bottle carried by a cord. No documents were found. They were probably from C-45 VC Local Force Company, known to operate in the area with a strength of about 60 troops. A contact report, required within 20 minutes of the action, was radioed by AN/PRC-25 (of which three were carried) to Chi Linh. This included: time of contact; grid coordinates; who initiated and at what range; friendly and enemy casualties; captured weapons; direction enemy withdrew; and what actions would take place next.

The next action was to get out of the area. This may seem none too valorous, but past experience had often proven this to be the best decision, especially since substantial NVA forces had been in the area only a few days before. It was not known what other enemy forces were in the immediate vicinity, while they now



knew where the intruders were. The unit moved rapidly to the north-east for one click, and turned south-east for another. A 700-metre-wide weed-choked rice paddy faced the unit — an obstacle which did not please the Strikers, as it placed them in a similar situation to that which their enemy had just faced. Scouts were sent across followed by each platoon, covered by the others.

Turning north, the unit moved a short distance and established a perimeter. By now it was early afternoon, and the hottest part of the day. A two-hour break was usually taken at this time for lunch and rest. One platoon conducted a search of *Ap Soc Tranh*, a French-built plantation workers' village. They maintained contact with the company by means of HT-1 walkie-talkies, a civilian model not used by the US Army; each platoon had one and there were two more in the HQ. Moving out at 1430 hours, the unit headed north for a click. It was in this area that Cos.331 and 332 had engaged elements of the 141st NVA Regiment a few days before. The rubber had suffered much damage from small arms fire, M79 grenades, and RPG-2 rockets; and was littered with thousands of empty cartridges and other munitions residue; but the NVA had clearly returned and 'policed' it with a fine-tooth comb, causing an eerie feeling among the Strikers.

The unit was beginning a turn to the east when a single shot rang out from their front. Two Strikers opened fire on a green-uniformed man darting through the trees. All 100 troops ducked behind rubber trees, with four to six lined up behind each. There was no return fire, no movement. Everyone began to chuckle as it dawned on them how ridiculous they looked lined up in queues behind the trees.

Scouts checked the area prior to the unit crossing a road . . . Another click down the side of a ridge,



quickly across a brush-lined stream, and back into the rubber . . . Another 1½ clicks brought the unit to the burned-out village of *Ap Hung Phat*, where there were signs of foraging in the long-overgrown gardens. Several patrols were sent out in different directions in search of enemy activity, returning with nothing to report.

The unit moved half a click to the south-east where it formed a perimeter on the rubber's edge. Here dinner was eaten, and a site selected on the map to RON — 'remain over night'. Dinner was always eaten in a different spot from where the unit RONed, so as to mislead an enemy who might think they would stay there. Crossing CR 303, the unit now found itself among thick bamboo and dense underbrush. Contact was rare in such dense vegetation, so two columns were formed, only 20 metres or so apart: this eased control, allowed more speed, and caused less noise. Following a zig-zag course to make their track difficult to follow, it took the Strikers over an hour to move a click to the RON site. They arrived after dark, intentionally, so that uninvited observers could not see how the unit

deployed; a perimeter was established, fire sectors were designated, and the night's guards assigned.

CIDG discipline was demonstrated when a platoon leader brought a young Striker before the CO complaining of some infraction. The offender was ordered to leave his rifle and load-bearing equipment; was given a grenade, and marched 200 metres to CR 303; and was left alone for the night to contemplate his sins while outposting the road.

Ambush

The night passed uneventfully and the entire unit was alert before sunrise. A breakfast of cold PIR rice was eaten, and the unit was soon on the move. Crossing CR 303 into the rubber, the unit automatically went into a box formation. Turning south to parallel the road, they ambled through brush-overgrown rubber; they were relaxed in the cool morning air, some with rifles over their shoulders.

Some sixth sense seemed to ripple through the Strikers as they alerted and dropped to the ground before a shot sounded. Green AK-47 tracers, from the left front, swept through the formation. The left flank platoon returned fire as the front



Co.331 crosses an abandoned rice paddy in column formation — a practice followed only in 'secure' areas.

Left:

A break in the field; an LLDB NCO, with map, sits among Co.331's platoon leaders. On the right is a combat interpreter; and behind the LLDB a standing Striker snacks on 'PIRs'.

platoon pivoted in an attempt to outflank the enemy, who had been forced to open fire early. M60 tracers began a fire which raged through the dry brush. Keeping up a high rate of fire, both platoons, led by USSF NCOs, advanced through the flames. The fire tapered off, but the platoons became disorganised due to the smoke and general confusion of a firefight. Once sorted out, it was found that there were no friendly casualties, but three dead VC were discovered — two burned, though killed by small arms. Fourteen hasty firing positions were located, indicating that the VC had attempted to ambush the unit. The place where they had spent the night was also found to the south of the ambush site.

The unit again moved out, crossed CR 303 into long-destroyed *Srok Soai* village, and began foraging, though little had been left by the VC. They were preparing to move east and then north when the order was received from Chi Linh to return to camp: the unit was needed to take part in a joint operation on 'Serge's Jungle Highway'. No helicopters were available. Co.331 trooped through the camp's gates the next morning. **MI**

REVIEWS

'The Scottish Soldier' by Stephen Wood; Archive Publications, Manchester, in association with the National Museums of Scotland; 176pp; 257 ill., 16 colour plates; £12.50.

This book is 'an illustrated social and military history of Scotland's fighting men through two thousand years', produced to accompany the exhibition 'The Story of the Scottish Soldier 1600-1914' at the Scottish United Services Museum, Edinburgh Castle, and written by the Keeper, Stephen Wood. As the author notes in his introduction, its intended primary appeal is to a popular, rather than academic, audience; but it would be an injustice to consider it as just another 'popular history'.

In other hands, writing a book on this subject could have resulted in a mere re-telling of regimental lore and hero myth of 'hair-breadth 'scapes', perpetuating the popular image of the Scottish soldier as beloved of the Victorian era, of the Thin Red Line, Fighting Mac, the Greys at Waterloo and Findlater at Dargai. Stephen Wood has produced the opposite: a lively, interesting over-view of the Scottish soldier, which includes a more general account of the tactics, weaponry and general conditions of the soldier's lot throughout the centuries (as necessary to enable the general reader to appreciate the Scottish soldier against the wider scene). The survey takes the Scottish soldier from the Pictish hordes of misty antiquity to Tumbledown and beyond; indeed, three out of ten chapters concern the post-1918 period.

The author's contention is that in one aspect the Scottish soldier is largely 'a figment of a mass imagination which finds mythology easier to comprehend than fact; romance more attractive than reality' (even if, perhaps, once myth is accepted as fact its effect becomes as if it were fact?). This study removes much of the artificial romanticism, and the traditional epics of Scottish soldiery appear only as highlights in the wider canvas: thus are such cherished myths as the charge of the Greys and Gordons at Waterloo rightly laid to rest.

A remark in the introduction that 'there is now nothing unique about the Scottish soldier' might (as the author admits) provoke protest from the tartan denizens of this and earlier ages! But the case is argued cogently; and notes, for example, that financial necessity was of more influence as a cause of enlistment than the 'fine military feeling' equally discounted by Wellington — though it is acknowledged that the popularity of the military profession almost unique to Scotland was an important factor in the recruiting of Scottish regiments. This traditional conception of the Scottish soldier survived even the horror of the Great War, chronicled in a chapter appropriately and movingly titled 'The Flowers of the Forest'. Again, there is little celebration of great deeds; far more telling is the flat

recitation of statistics. That a single regiment might lose 11,000 men killed during the war is a fact the enormity of which is hard to comprehend.

Written throughout in an easy style and with a sardonic humour ('medical records do not offer evidence of the degree of deafness among seventeenth-century musketeers'), the book includes fascinating asides, such as a paragraph on alcohol abuse in the Victorian army and the progress of the Soldiers' Total Abstinence Association (not unexpected, as the author's Master's thesis concerned this subject). One might argue against the total condemnation of the volunteer forces of the Napoleonic era (stated to be all 'pretensions and posturings'); Windham might have dismissed them as 'painted cherries which none but simple birds would take for real fruit', but they were always more than that, and despite their critics then and since they were of some value.

The illustrations which complement the text are alone sufficient reason to acquire the book. Their scope ranges from contemporary pictures and prints, to magnificent relics superbly photographed (as might be expected from such a source), to photographs of the Scottish soldier from before the Crimean War to the present day (indeed, about one-fifth of the total illustrations post-date 1945). Colour reproduction is magnificent and the relics reproduced include items of breathtaking craftsmanship and historical interest, from embroidered mitre caps to Ewart's Waterloo eagle. There are satirical prints of shocked *parisiennes* observing the kilt in 1816; photographs of bearded Crimea veterans; glimpses of the horrors of the trenches on the Western Front; and studies of the latest generation of Scottish soldiers negotiating the terrain and shellfire of the Falklands with the same determination and resignation as their forebears at Ticonderoga, Mont St. Jean or Loos. (Though surely the illustration captioned as the 1st Edinburgh Volunteers, 1796, is in reality H.P. Danloux's painting of the Dumfries Militia?)

In conclusion, this is a splendidly-produced volume with a thought-provoking text and exceptional illustrations (alone worth its reasonable price, which represents remarkable value); essential for all those with an interest in the Scottish soldier, in military lore, or indeed in the wider context of the nation and its history, it is recommended without reservation.

PJH

'Waffenfabrik Katalog — Recueil des principaux catalogues des plus importants fabricants Allemands de militaria 1920-1945' by Francis Catella; published by the author, from 4 rue de la Voie, 67300 Strasbourg, France; 280pp;

ill. throughout; 227 French francs, P&P incl. (approx. £23). A simple idea is very often the best idea, as this book proves: a straightforward publication made up of facsimile reprints of 15 German manufacturers' catalogues during the interwar and Second World War periods. One of the earliest, most popular, and now possibly most expensive fields of Third Reich collecting is edged weapons. The bulk of the post-war reference available is the work of individual authors. Many of these books, heavily illustrated, are excellent in both content and value; yet until M. Catella's enterprise, we have lacked actual facsimiles of original manufacturer's catalogues.

The catalogues reproduced are those of August Lüneburg of Kiel and Flensburg; Carl Julius Krebs, Paul Seilheimer and F.W. Höller of Solingen; Carl Roth of Würzburg; AD-Baumeister, Berg & Nolte AG, and Overhoff & Cie. of Lüdenscheid; Roder & Cie. of Solingen; F.W. Assmann & Söhne of Lüdenscheid; Robert Klaas of Solingen-Ohligs; W.K.C. of Solingen-Wald; and Alexander Cöppel and Eickhorn, both of Solingen.

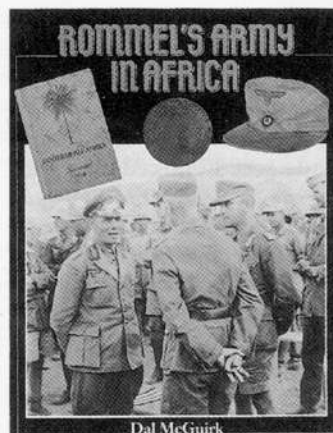
Many of these catalogues are almost impossible to obtain today; and anyone interested in the collection and study of daggers, bayonets and swords — as well as a vast array of metal insignia worn on the military, para-military and political uniforms of the period — will be delighted with the chance to obtain, under one cover, such a wealth of first class information. Glossy art paper ensures that the reproduction is excellent, particularly in the case of the many engravings. All captions, headings and price lists are reproduced in the original German. This publication will prove to be an important and useful work of reference.

BLD

'Rommel's Army in Africa' by Dal McGuirk; Stanley Paul & Co. Ltd; 192pp; 187 ill., plus 20 col. plates; £16.95.

Always popular, the German forces in N. Africa continue to be the subject of a number of excellent books in recent years; and this latest follows in that tradition. Dal McGuirk's enthusiasm leaps out from the pages of this first class book. He has gone to considerable lengths to produce a work that is well researched, very readable, and well illustrated. A striking feature is the colour section — 20 plates containing hundreds of photos of a range of German small arms, DAK insignia, headgear, clothing, footwear, personal equipment, various booklets and pass books, and many other DAK-related items.

A first class selection of contemporary black and white photos from a number of official and private sources complement the four basic text sections: Rommel; The Men of



Rommel's Army in N. Africa; Narrative of Campaigns; and German Army and Luftwaffe Uniforms and Equipment. As an example of the sort of detailed coverage achieved, the second main section contains the following subjects:

The German Army paybook (Sold-buch); the Service Record (Wehrpass); Africa theatre booklets; personal papers; Standing Orders to German troops in N. Africa; medical examination for tropical service; Sonderverband 288; Luftwaffe Units; the Italian Army in N. Africa; the German High Command blueprint for serving in N. Africa; 'AM' — tinned Italian sausage meat; the problems of water; wartime officer promotion; burials and graves. Much of this material has been meticulously researched from accounts related to the author by former DAK members.

On a subject already much researched and published, Dal McGuirk has produced a book with a lot of fresh material presented in a very attractive way. The book is well designed, and printing, reproduction and binding are good. It is highly recommended.

BLD

'Life in Custer's Cavalry: Diaries and Letters of Albert and Jennie Barnitz, 1867-68', ed. Robert M. Utley; University of Nebraska Press, 1 Gower St., London WC1E 6HA; p/bk; 302pp; 14 ill., 3 maps; biblio; index; £7.55.

Superbly edited by the leading modern historian of the American Army in the West, this book is one of the most important personal records of the post-Civil War period. It is hugely entertaining, exciting, and at times moving. It was widely acclaimed when it first appeared (Yale, 1970); for the correspondence between this husband and wife and their respective journals give a rarely equalled description of military life in the West, in camp and on campaign. Albert had his beloved Jennie with him only part of the time, thus the voluminous correspondence. His active career ended during the battle of the Washita in 1868, in which he was seriously wounded. However, this apparent misfortune spared him from being killed with Custer and his men at the Little Bighorn in 1876.

Barnitz, like many of his fellow officers, was no admirer of Custer, who divides opinion to this day. He survived a very justified court martial; and his eccentric behaviour may remind British readers of Lord Cardigan. Barnitz describes how, on the very day before setting out on the Washita campaign, Custer ordered 'all the company commanders to exchange horses [between the troopers of their companies] so as to secure a uniformity of colours in each company'. Like all the other officers, Barnitz — 'disgusted and disheartened' — protested in vain that his horses were well trained and that the men were much attached to them.

Much of the book is set in Kansas forts, and Barnitz portrays camp life as vividly as he describes Indian-fighting. Drunken officers and numerous deserters figure largely in this book, along with the more sober side of social life in Western outposts. Some of the finest passages, however, are Barnitz's vividly professional accounts of the reality of Indian-fighting, and its bloody aftermath.

Finally, mention must be made of a long section devoted by Utley to biographical sketches of more than 60 characters, red as well as white, who are mentioned by Barnitz or his wife. These range from Sherman and Sheridan to Roman Nose and Wild Bill Hickok. **RM**

'The British Soldier in the 20th Century: (2) — Field Service Headress, 1902 to the present day' by Michael Chappell; **Wessex Military Publishing, 1A High Street, Hatherleigh, Devon EX20 3JH; p/bk; 24pp; 4pp colour, 33 b/w illus.; £3.50 (+ 50p P&P UK); available in USA through Bill Dean Books Ltd., Whitestone, NY.**

This booklet is the second in Michael Chappell's new series, the first of which, dealing with Service Dress 1902-40, was favourably reviewed in 'MI' No. 8. As a publication it has all the attributes of the first volume. Covering Field Service Headress, it both complements and goes further than its companion since it not only takes its subject up to the present, but also treats of tropical and cold weather headress. Here we are given in great detail the variety of caps, bonnets, hats and helmets worn by the British soldier in the two World Wars and in the periods before, between and after: from the soldierly SD cap of 1905 and its Great War variations, through the unsightly Cap GS of 1943, to the ubiquitous beret of today, including the 'national' variations of Scottish and Irish regiments. In the helmet field we progress from the first steel helmet of 1915/16, its WWII modifications, the 1944 pattern reminiscent of a 15th Century 'salade', up to the latest plastic combat helmet; alongside these we find the various tropical helmets — so reminiscent of the pre-war Army — and the protective headgear worn

by parachute and armoured troops. Such a survey would be incomplete without that soldier's favourite, the long-lived 'cap comforter', and here it is, with similar items.

As in the first volume, Mr. Chappell's knowledge and experience of the Army are fully evident in both text and colour plates, which are supplemented by an informative and original selection of b/w illustrations. His artwork is precise in detail, and conjures up the British soldier. This volume confirms this reviewer's opinion of the first, that this project is well worth supporting. **MJB**

'Old Robin's Foot: The equipping and campaigns of Essex's Infantry 1642-42' by Stuart Peachey & Alan Turton; **Partizan Press, 26 Cliffsea Grove, Leigh on Sea, Essex SS9 1NQ; 63pp; 6pp illus.; p/bk; £3.25 P&P incl.**

Books which challenge ones ideas about the established facts of military history are rare, at any level of publishing. This modest production will have wargamers reaching for their brushes, and historians and re-enactors for their thinkingcaps, if it receives the attention it deserves.

Beginning with a history of the campaigns of Essex's army, emphasising the movements of individual regiments and the details of uniform and weapon supply, the author goes on to discuss the exact nature of the soldier's clothing. It is the section on uniform coats which produces the greatest surprises: for the authors claim that regiments changed the colours of their coats with each new batch of uniforms issued to them. It emerges that Parliament took central control of uniform production, and tackled the problem in a very advanced and businesslike manner. Other sections concern fabrics and how they were dyed; arms, and equipment; flags; regimental strengths; officer lists; and even patterns for a shirt and soldier's coat! The illustrations reproduce most of the very rare depictions of contemporary soldiers which are available, with appropriate notes.

The authors have spent two years searching for primary source material in the Public Records Office, and among the Thomason Tracts, and have unearthed information which has eluded, or been ignored by, previous scholars. In some instances what they have found will cause ideas on uniform to be re-assessed; in others their findings are inconclusive but open up new and intriguing lines of research. Partizan Press are to be congratulated on a book providing detailed research at a good-value price. **JPT**

'Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War', comprising 'The Military Memoirs of John Gwynne' (153pp) and 'The Earl of Glencairn's Expedition in the Highlands of Scotland 1653-54' (30pp), with introduction by Sir Walter Scott, and appendix (90pp); facsimile reprint of 1822 edn.; Ken Trotman Ltd, Unit 11,

135 Ditton Walk, Cambridge CB5 8QD; £12.50.

John Gwynne, from a family of the lesser gentry of Trelydan in Montgomeryshire, spent his early years in service at the court of Charles I. On the outbreak of the Civil War he joined the regiment of Sir Thomas Salusbury, in time to take part in the successful Royalist attack on Brentford. Promoted ensign in the field, he served at several important actions including first and second Newbury, Cropredy Bridge, and at the sieges of Reading, Devizes and Farringdon Castle. Scorning a commission in the army of Parliament offered to him at the end of the First Civil War, he travelled to Scotland and to Holland in support of the exiled Charles II. He took part in the unsuccessful uprisings of the Earl of Holland, Montrose and the Earl of Glencairn (an anonymous account of which accompanies his memoirs). He also served as a lieutenant in the Royal Regiment of Guards under the Duke of York in the Spanish army; and was captured fighting against his old enemies at the Battle of the Dunes. Returning to England at the Restoration, he was displaced during the re-organisation of the old Royalist and Commonwealth regiments of Guards. In 1663 we find him mentioned under the Earl of Holland in the List of (Indigent) Officers.

Some time between 1679 and 1682, in response to a request by the Duke of Monmouth, Gwynne wrote his memoirs and sent copies to 11 potential patrons. Intending to record his own contribution to the Royalist cause, he concentrated on his own deeds and experiences to the exclusion of more significant events going on around him, assuming his readers' familiarity with the history of the Civil War. His style is typical of his time, with short chapters, some only a few lines long, often out of chronological sequence. This may reduce the appeal to the casual reader, as the story does not flow as a consistent narrative. The value of Gwynne's recollections lies in offering a rare glimpse of the experiences and opinions of a junior officer. These memoirs were reprinted as early as 1967, but copies are hard to find. Researchers and enthusiasts will welcome the reappearance of this valuable primary source. **JPT**

'Rally Once Again: Battle Tactics of the American Civil War' by Paddy Griffith; **The Crowood Press, Ramsbury, Marlborough, Wiltshire SN8 2HE; 239pp; 8 b/w plates; appendices; index; £12.95.** First reaction to Paddy Griffith's second major publication on the American Civil War might be that it simply deals in more depth and detail with the material covered in his 'Battle in the Civil War: Generalship & Tactics in America 1861-65'. But closer examination soon reveals this to be far from the case. 'Rally Once Again' is an essential read for anyone interested in the subject. A scholarly piece of writing, it provides a fresh and

provocative appraisal of the war.

The author analyses the weapons, training, and tactics used, and comes up with some challenging conclusions. He believes that far from being the first modern war, it was the last 'Napoleonic' war; and that none of the innovations such as ironclads, submarines, machine guns and explosive bullets had any significant effect on the outcome. With the support of a myriad of statistics and numerous tables, it is argued that in spite of the range advantage of rifled muskets over smoothbores, the emphasis was habitually placed on massed fire at close range. The analysis of the Engineer Corps influence at West Point, subsequently manifesting itself in the over-cautious practice of fortification rather than mobility and offensive warfare, is food for thought. (As, indeed, is the examination of the drill books of the day, which were definitely open to considerable misinterpretation.)

More relevant illustrations would have been useful in order to back up Mr. Griffith's hypotheses. The short photo supplement seems irrelevant to the cause: we already know what Grant, Lee and Sherman looked like. The several diagrams are helpful, but more would have been welcome. I particularly liked the appendix on 'Tactical Snippeting', which can only be a source of encouragement to the amateur historian and researcher in this fascinating field. **RF**

Osprey Men-at-Arms MAA 188, 191, 192, 196; all 48pp, 8pp colour, approx. 35 b/w illus.; available in case of difficulty from George Philip Services, FREEPOST, Littlehampton, W. Sussex BN17 5BR; £4.50 ea. (+ 15% P&P if ordered direct). Published November:

MAA 188 'Polish Armies 1569-1696 (2)' by Richard Brzezinski, plates Angus McBride. The interest, authority and standard of the text and illustrations meet any expectations aroused by the first volume (MAA 184, reviewed 'MI' No. 7), and you couldn't ask for better than that. This volume covers the 'Foreign Autorament' of the Polish armies — that part of the forces modelled on Western rather than Eastern developments; and includes detailed and fascinating sections on the Royal Guard, magnates' private armies, armies of the cities, Cossacks, and Tatars in Polish service. There is a brief examination of tactics; and a most useful glossary, complete with pronunciation guide, for which non-Poles will bless the author's name. Many of the monochrome illustrations are genuinely contemporary, and not seen before in the West. Mr. McBride's plates follow the style and vigour of those in MAA 184, and are a standing challenge to modellers. An unusual but genuinely important aspect of military history, succinctly explained by a genuine expert, well

continued on p.44

The Distinctions of Army Commandos, 1940-45(I)

WILLIAM Y. CARMAN

Paintings by MICHAEL CHAPPELL

The assumption of all responsibility for the Commando concept by the Royal Marines in the immediate post-war period has tended — some may think unjustly — to obscure the central part played by Army Commandos during the Second World War. The unit insignia worn by these troops are poorly recorded; and the lack of authoritative reference material bedevils would-be collectors of these often colourful and interesting badges and titles. It is hoped that this serial article will be of interest and practical value, although many questions remain to be answered.

FORMATION

In an effort to find unconventional methods of combating the Nazi war machine, the idea of creating 'guerrilla' or special infantry companies within the British Army was considered even before the Dunkirk evacuation. In April 1940 the War Office sought 3,000 volunteers from the Territorial Army Divisions with the aim of forming ten independent companies. The original idea was that each company would be able to operate independently, and to go into action based on its own ship.

On 20 April 1940 No. 1 Independent Company was

Rare and most valuable photograph showing Cpl. Peter Murphy of 2 Cdo. in 1941. He wears the khaki balmoral or tam-o'-shanter cap, complete with the brooch-type white metal dagger badge on a narrow black backing. The lanyard on the left shoulder is black and white; the shoulder title, white on black — 'COMMANDO'. Between this and his rank chevrons can just be seen a corner of the white-on-black four-sided patch bearing this unit's distinctive 'dagger/SS' device: see item B on page 42.

formed from men of the 52nd (Lowland) Division; No. 2 was formed in Northern Ireland from the 53rd (Welsh) Div.; No. 3 at Ponteland from the 54th (East Anglian) Div.; No. 4 at Sizewell, Suffolk, from the 55th (West Lancashire) Div.; No. 5 at Lydd from the 56th (London) Div.; No. 6 at Carnoustie from the 9th (Scottish) Div.; No. 7 at Hawick from the 15th (Scottish) Div.; No. 8 at Mundford, Norfolk from the 18th (Eastern) Div.; No. 9 at Ross-on-Wye, Herefordshire from the 36th (Welsh) Div.; and No. 10 from the 66th (Lancashire and Border) Division. An 11th Company was later formed with 115 men drawn from Nos. 6 and 8 Companies.

The first five companies sailed to Norway to form 'Scissorforce'; but the other companies remained on their boats and did not go into action. By June 1940 the first five companies had gone to Scotland, and the others assembled at Plymouth. No. 10 had a short adventure at Dakar, but returned home in December 1940 to become the Special Training Centre at Loch Ailort.

It would be logical to presume that the independent companies would wear the divisional signs of their parent formations, e.g. the 'W' of the 53rd Div.; but it is known that No. 4 Coy. went



further, and had a red '4' embroidered on their 55th Div. sign. However, in November 1940 these independent companies were reorganised to become 'special service companies'.

The Special Service Brigade

This weird and unsatisfactory 'brain-child' was born of the wish to call together the Independent Companies and the Commandos which were forming at this time. These independent fighting units were not now to be limited to their own individual ships, but were to be available to take part in combined operations duties, or not, as the situation demanded.

In the beginning 12 'Commandos' — owing their name to Winston Churchill's memories of the free-ranging independent mounted infantry units which he had encountered in the Boer War — were planned; but the first two did not develop, for various reasons, and so it was

that Commandos numbered from 3 to 12 appeared in June/July 1940. The Special Service Brigade was formed on 11 November 1940, with five Special Service Battalions each with two Special Service Companies.

Nos. 1 and 2 Independent Companies formed the basis of A Coy., 1 Special Service Bn., and Nos. 3 and 4 the same battalion's B Company; No. 5 Ind. Coy. was disbanded, but a few men went to join B Company. Nos. 6 and 7 Coys. helped to form A Coy., 2 Special Service Battalion. Nos. 8 and 9 Coys. were disbanded in October and November 1940. No. 10 Coy. returned home to be disbanded, but in the event was converted in December 1940. The remaining battalions of the Brigade were filled from the existing Commandos. 2 Special Service Bn. took its A Coy. partly from 9 Commando, and B Coy. from 11 (Scottish) Commando. 3 Special Service Bn. had (for no apparent reason) numbered

(1) 'Special Service Bde.' remained the title of the parent administrative organisation of the various Cdos. and supporting establishments until Oct. 1943, when it was retitled S.S. Group; in Dec. 1944 this became Cdo. Group. The numbered Special Service Bdes., 1 to 4, were tactical formations formed between late summer and November 1943, originally comprising Army and Royal Marine Cdos. as follows:

1st: 3, 4, 6, 45 RM

2nd: 2, 9, cls. 10, 40 & 43 RM

3rd: 1, 5, 42 & 44 RM

4th: 41, 46, 47, 48 RM

companies: 1 Coy. was formed from 4 Cdo., and 2 Coy. from 7 Commando. 4 Special Service Bn. had 3 Cdo. for its A Coy. and 8 Cdo. for its B Company. A and B Coys. of 5 Special Service Bn. were formed from 5 and 6 Cdos. respectively. 10 Cdo. had sufficient officers but insufficient other ranks, and so was disbanded in December 1940, the officers going to 5 Special Service Battalion. 12 Cdo., raised from troops in Northern Ireland, remained there as a half-battalion, and took no part in the Special Service Brigade. It will be noted that these regiments and battalions were not of normal infantry strength, and the problems of administration led to the battalions being broken up in March 1941.

Given the problems of formation, and the short life of the units, it does not seem that special distinctions were worn, although they may have been considered. 2 S.S.Bn. had been known as 'Scottish', and a sign of two crossed green Scottish broadswords embroidered on a purple ground may have been associated; but there is no evidence that this sign was actually worn. Later both companies of this battalion and the Commandos — Nos. 9 and 11 — which emerged from them on the subsequent reorganisation were known by the black hackles in their headgear. The shoulder title of the later 4 Commando, bearing the words 'SPECIAL IV SERVICE', may have first appeared during the existence of the S.S. battalions. Even the crossed knives and 'V' of 5 Cdo. are compatible with 5 S.S.Bn., but such an early use cannot be confirmed. We are on surer ground with the distinctions worn by the Commandos themselves, where memories are more precise.

THE COMMANDOS

With the tactical break-up of the Special Service Bde.⁽¹⁾ in March 1941 the future of the Commandos became more assured.

Special Service Brigade

(Formed November 1940; disbanded March 1941)

1st Special Service Battalion

A Special Service Company (from 1 & 2 Independent Companies; became 1 Commando)

B Special Service Company (from 3 & 4 Independent Companies; became 2 Commando)

2nd Special Service Battalion

A S.S. Coy. (from 6, 7 and 9 Cdos.; became 9 Cdo.)

B S.S. Coy. (from 11 Cdo.; became 11 Cdo.)

3rd Special Service Battalion

1 S.S. Coy. (from 4 Cdo.; became 4 Cdo.)

2 S.S. Coy. (from 7 Cdo.; became 7 Cdo.)

4th Special Service Battalion

A S.S. Coy. (from 3 Cdo.; became 3 Cdo.)

B S.S. Coy. (from 8 Cdo.; became 8 Cdo.)

5th Special Service Battalion

A S.S. Coy. (from 5 Cdo.; became 5 Cdo.)

B S.S. Coy. (from 6 Cdo.; became 6 Cdo.)

Note: 10 Commando disbanded December 1940. 12 Commando BTNI formed from separate Northern Ireland S.S. Coy. in March 1941.

The former A S.S. Coy. of 1 S.S. Bn. became 1 Commando on 5 March 1941 while still in the S.S. Brigade. As a Commando it wore as arm sign a green and black salamander in the midst of red and yellow flames on khaki, a device which the unit retained until

1942. On becoming a Commando it was possible for a unit to adopt such a designation as a shoulder title; and the distinctive title of this Commando was a light green '1' centred over 'COMMANDO' embroidered on khaki.

The authorities did not favour the flowering of

individual titles and flashes; and although most personnel wore a title with the single word 'COMMANDO' in white on black during 1941-42, a common title design, in red on dark blue, was authorised in September 1942. The wording, e.g. 'No 1 COMMANDO', could be issued either as a printed or a woven title in this colour combination.

The green beret

Thoughts were also being directed towards other common distinctions for the Commandos, to replace their own chosen marks or patches. It was in 1942 that the green beret was introduced. As early as September 1941 there had been a suggestion that a green beret might be worn by the Reconnaissance Corps — appropriate to a corps whose arm-of-service stripes were green and yellow — but in fact no such beret was provided. It was No. 1 Cdo. who claimed credit for the introduction of the green beret: according to James Ladd, officers of the



November 1943: a captain of 2 Commando displays the officer's 'dagger/SS' cap badge on a black patch on his green beret. (Courtesy S. O. Buckmaster/B. J. Hobbs)

Left:

L/Cpl. F. Craft, MM, joined 3 Cdo. in March 1941 from the 2nd Beds. & Herts. Regt. The batman and later driver to Maj. Peter Young (who later led the Commando in NW Europe as Lt. Col., DSO, MC), Craft fought at Vaagso and Dieppe and in Sicily; he was killed at Agnone in July 1943. The photograph was taken at Gibraltar in early 1943. He wears the green beret — for some reason, without the Beds. & Herts. cap badge; what appears to be the printed version of the red-on-blue 'No 3 COMMANDO' title; the Combined Operations sign cut as a disc; and the ribbon of his Military Medal.

Blurred but interesting photograph which appears, from the partly legible red-on-blue shoulder title, to show men of 5 Commando. One shows another his green beret, which bears a hitherto unrecorded badge in the form of a light-coloured 'V' on a dark patch. This appears to be white on black; but we should perhaps bear in mind this Commando's use of yellow-on-dark-green titles and distinctive patch in 1941-42? The general issue red-on-blue title and Combined Services patch date this photograph not earlier than late 1942. (Via M. Chauvet)



unit stationed at Irvine, Ayrshire in late 1942 had the local manufacturer of tam-o'-shanters make up examples in green cloth. The official date for the introduction of the beret was 27 October 1942; in the ACI 2264 of that date it is stated that personnel of the Special Service Bde. were to have such a headdress.

Though the green beret became the desirable mark of the Commando, there was no common badge, and most men continued to wear the cap badges of their original regiments or corps. Although the steel helmet or woollen cap-comforter were worn in action, the green beret was retained under fire as often as possible. In the aftermath of the war the use of the green beret continued in the Royal Marine Commandos, but ACI 200 of February 1946 discontinued its use in the Army, who were henceforth to play no part in the Commando concept.

Combined Operations signs

In 1942 a competition was organised to find a badge to indicate Combined Operations personnel; and that September a device was approved combining an eagle, an anchor and a Thompson gun. This appeared in the newly approved colours of red on dark blue, and in Army units was normally worn as a disc on both upper arms. (It is suggested that the cutting of the issued 'tombstone-shaped' patch to disc shape

by Army Commandos was in order deliberately to distinguish themselves from Royal Marines.)

As all personnel serving in the far-flung Combined Operations organisation, including women and office staff, were entitled to wear this sign, the fighting men were not unhappy to discontinue its use in late 1944 when a new sign was introduced specifically for Commando Group: a red dagger on a blue 'segment'. (The Special Service Group was redesignated Commando Group in December that year.) The shoulder titles, Combined Operations sign or subsequently the Commando Group sign were worn together by most Commandos from late 1942 until they were disbanded in November 1945. However, variations of use are noted in the individual Commando sections below. It was, of course, unwise — as well as poor security — to display these insignia in battle, given the hatred that led to Hitler's infamous 'Commando Order' authorising the interrogation and murder of captured Commandos and denying them the protection afforded to other prisoners of war by the Geneva Conventions. Photographs suggest, however, that the green beret was always cherished.

UNIT PRACTICES

1 Commando is largely covered above. It may be added that it is said to have worn a black and white lanyard on the left shoulder when serving in the Far East in 1943/44. At the end of the war it merged with 5 Cdo., but on subsequent disbandment the men went to the Royal Marine Commandos.

2 Commando

Created from B Coy., 1st Special Service Bn. in March 1941. At this time the unit was composed of men from some 34 regiments and corps, with their own various headdresses and badges. It was decided to adopt the balmoral or tam-o'-shanter as the standard headdress, and that a single badge would be worn. This was to be the Commando dagger in white metal set on a narrow black ground. Officers had the white metal (silver?) dagger with 'SS' at the hilt, placed on a black silk patch. This badge was distinctive for this Commando and was not worn by any other. 2 Cdo. wore it first on the balmoral and later on the green beret until the end of the war.

The white-on-black embroidered 'COMMANDO' title was worn on the arms immediately below the shoulder strap. Below this

was worn a four-sided black patch bearing an embroidered dagger and 'SS' in white or silver. A photograph of this period also shows a black and white twisted lanyard worn on the left shoulder by an other rank. The title subsequently changed to 'No. 2 COMMANDO' in silver on black. No. 5 Troop included men of the Liverpool Scottish, and is said to have displayed the Forbes tartan, but details are unavailable.

In late 1942 the green beret was taken into wear, with the dagger cap badges of this unit. The distinctive shoulder title was discontinued in favour of the new standardised red-on-blue pattern, 'No 2 COMMANDO'; there is a tradition, however, that although issued, this was never worn. Later the Combined Operations patch was worn, followed in time by the Commando Group red dagger on a blue patch.

3 Commando

This unit took pride in being the first Commando to be raised, and dated from June 1940. The men came directly from units and not from the independent companies. They were almost without exception veterans of Dunkirk, in particular H Troop, drawn from the 4th Division. The ten troops were lettered A to I. Most photographs of the early days show them in action without shoulder titles; but there were examples of signs to identify troops, such as that designed by Capt. John Giles for D Troop — a white full-face death's-head in a bright blue 'D' on a dark green patch. Capt. Giles was killed at Vaagso in December 1941, but his sign continued in wear even when the troops were re-organised and D became No. 3 Troop. Men of No. 5 Troop wore a dark blue cloth disc on the upper left sleeve between the 'COMMANDO' title and any NCOs' chevrons. Signs for other troops, if they existed, are not known.

Although linked between November 1940 and March

1941 with 8 (Guards) Commando in the 4th Special Service Bn., 3 Cdo. resisted the use of its new official name — 1st Coy. — and insisted on being known still as 3 Cdo., which title rightfully returned to it in March 1941 when the S.S. Bns. were broken up. When the troops took numbers in place of letters the shoulder title of '3 COMMANDO' in white on black had troop numbers added below the centre in the same colours, '1' to '6', and 'HQ' for the headquarters.

The headdress was the 'folding cap', the khaki Field Service cap, on which was worn the appropriate regimental badge. After Dieppe in 1942 the green beret was introduced and worn in action whenever possible, although the cap comforter was frequently favoured. Titles in white on dark blue have been suggested; but at the end of 1942 the new red-on-blue issue — 'No 3 COMMANDO' — became official. The Combined Operations sign was worn on both sleeves from 1943 until replaced late in 1944 by the dagger sign.

4 Commando

Formed in June 1940 from volunteers from some 85 different units, whose badges continued to be worn on headdress, including the green beret. In the early days, at least into 1941, a red and yellow lanyard was worn, but this was subsequently discontinued. There was a distinctive shoulder title: 'SPECIAL IV SERVICE', the letters being light blue and the number pink, on the black ground. The Commando clearly wished to mark, or subsequently to commemorate, its identity as A Coy., 3rd S.S. Bn. from November 1940 to March 1941. At some point after the break-up of the S.S. Bns. a new title appeared: '4. COMMANDO', the number still in red or pink and the letters light blue, on black. When the general pattern title in red on blue appeared in late 1942 it is said that this

unit still initially wore the wording '4 COMMANDO' in the new colours; but that this changed to 'No 4 COMMANDO' to avoid confusion when 4 Special Service (Commando) Bde. was formed in late summer 1943.

A special grouping occurred after Dieppe, August 1942, when three troops of French Marines were added to the Commando's six troops, all fighting as a single unit in the British Army. The French had their own special features such as cap badges and signs, but also wore the same shoulder title as the rest of the Commando. 4 Cdo. followed the changes in insignia practice common to the other Commandos, and was finally disbanded early in 1946.

5 Commando

Formed in June 1940, and became A Coy., 5th S.S. Bn. in November 1940. It is said that there was an issue to each man of one golden-coloured hackle, priced at 7s.6d., but that the men were to make any replacements themselves. Fragile, and vulnerable to loss to 'interested parties', the hackle was discontinued by 1942. A newspaper photograph (reconstructed in colour elsewhere in this article) shows no hackle, only the regimental badge worn on the cap FS. Separating from the S.S. Bn. in 1941, the men wore a shoulder title 'V. COMMANDO' in golden letters on a dark green ground. Below this on the upper left sleeve was a rectangular green patch (some at least being machine-woven in silk) with 'V' between two crossed daggers, all in yellow with black details (see item D, p.42).

The official red-on-blue 'No 5 COMMANDO' titles appeared in 1943 in both printed and woven versions. The green beret, and the Combined Operations and Commando Group patches, followed the normal developments. The use of a light 'V' on a dark patch as a beret badge is perhaps sug-

gested by a photograph reproduced in this article.

6 Commando

Formed in mid-1940 under this title, from troops of Western Command, under Lt. Col. T. E. Featherstonhaugh, it became B Coy., 6th S.S. Bn. in November, reverting to the original title in March 1941. A white (or silver)-on-black title 'VI COMMANDO' was worn until the introduc-

tion of the red-on-blue general pattern in late 1942.

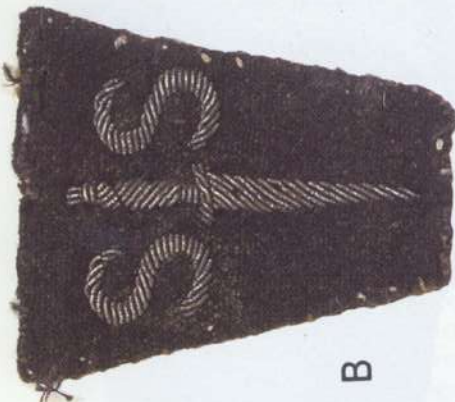
A veteran of the Vaagso raid of December 1941 appeared in a newspaper photograph wearing a balmoral bearing a large white 'VI' on a black rectangle. These were worn at the order of Lt. Col. Featherstonhaugh, who gave the men patches of black material and told them to sew on the numerals themselves



Cpl. Why of 3 Cdo. posing for a photograph late in the war, wearing 'light raiding order': cap comforter, Denison smock, and denim trousers, with only the belt and anklets of the 1937 webbing set. A series of photographs of veteran members of this Commando wearing the various combinations of dress and equipment which they had used at different periods of the war were taken at the order of the CO shortly before the unit's disbandment.



A



B



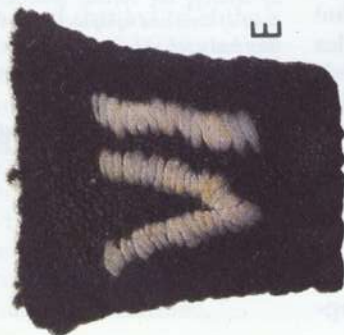
C



D



G



E



F



H



I



K



J



L



Opposite:

These insignia, actual size, are believed to be original examples: (A) Sleeve sign 1 Cdo., 1941-42. (B) Sleeve sign 2 Cdo., 1941-42, here officers' silver version.

(C) Sleeve sign No. 4 Independent Coy., between April and December 1940.

(D) Sleeve sign 5 Cdo., 1941-42.

(E) Headdress insignia, 6 Cdo., 1941-2; this example seems to have the sides cut away sharply.

(F) White-on-black shoulder title worn 1941-42 by most units.

(G) Shoulder title, 1 Cdo., 1941-42.

(H) Shoulder title, 2 Cdo., from late 1942, here in printed form of 'general issue' red-on-blue titles.

(I) Shoulder title, 3 Cdo., from late 1942, here in woven form of 'general issue' titles. Minor variations of e.g. a full stop or a dash below the 'o' of 'No' are found in a number of units.

(J) Shoulder title, 4 Cdo., 1941-42; the very faded lettering was originally light blue.

(K) Variant, 4 Cdo.; no details available, beyond the general observation that Army Commandos were often anxious to underline their difference from Royal Marines.

(L) Shoulder title, 5 Cdo., 1941-42.

Above:

(M) Corporal, D Troop, 3 Cdo.; Lofoten Islands raid, 4 March 1941; from a photograph taken during the operation. Note D Tp. shoulder patch, described in text. The helmet cover/hood is apparently made from a gas-cape.

(N) Unexplained but interesting figure in a photograph of Allied wounded convalescing in N. Africa, early 1943. He appears to wear US Army issue clothing, with the addition of the white-on-black 'VI COMMANDO' title on the sleeve; and 'VI' above 'COMMANDO' in white on a black rectangle on the cap.

(O) Lance-Corporal, 5 Cdo., late 1941; from a photograph of L/Cpl. Dean at his investiture with the Military Medal (Daily

Express, 8 November 1941). His Cap FS appears to bear the Royal Hampshires' cap badge, but not the golden-coloured hackle reported for 5 Commando. Note yellow-on-green shoulder title (? unclear in photo), and sleeve patch (items L and D opposite).

The three detail paintings, reproduced actual size, are taken from rubbings, photostats and photographs of actual items not now available for photography.

(P) Brass shoulder title — the only known metal Commando title — worn by 5 Cdo. in the Far East in the closing weeks of the war.

(Q) Shoulder title, 4 Cdo., 1941-42.

(R) Sleeve sign of 101 Troop, 6 Cdo. (Michael ChapPELL)

(though doubtless landladies and female friends helped). Other versions were cut from tins, the metal being painted black with 'VI' added in white, and fastened by a safety-pin soldered to the back.

A photograph (reconstructed in colour in this article) shows a convalescent casualty with other Allied

troops in North Africa in 1943. He wears a white-on-black shoulder title 'VI COMMANDO'; and on his forage cap what appears to be a 'split' repetition of this, 'VI' centred above 'COMMAN-DO' all on a black rectangle, the lettering in a straight line: perhaps an unofficial initiative.

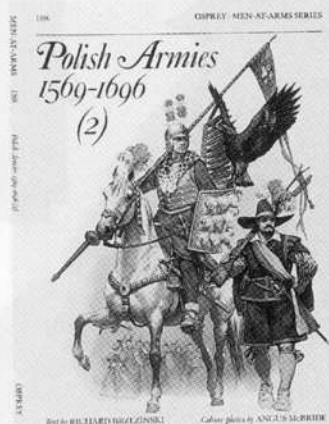
6 Cdo. had a special

seaborne troop, formed by Capt. (later Lt. Col.) G. C. S. Montanaro, which used canoes or 'Folboats'. The men of this troop wore a special sign on the upper arm: a blue rectangle with embroidered red '101' and a white swordfish emerging through the 'O'. This was worn beneath the white-on-black 'VI COMMANDO' title. Subsequently the standard red-on-blue titles were worn, versions with a full stop below the 'o' of 'No' being known. It is said that Rob Roy tartan was the 'unit badge' of this Commando, but when and how it was displayed not known. **MI**

To be continued: The second part of this article will describe and illustrate the distinctions of 7, 8, 9, 10 (Inter-Allied), 11, 12, 50, 51 and 52 Cdos., and various other organisations and centres. Acknowledgements will be listed in the second article.

illustrated with genuinely relevant pictures: very highly recommended. **MAA 191 'Henry VIII's Army'** by Paul Cornish, plates Angus McBride. The plates are presented as single figures on white in this book, without the forests, starlit skies, burning towers and flitting bats which enliven MAA 188; but they are clean and pleasing, for all that. The author is new to this reviewer, and the subject is, too; but Mr. Cornish seems to have done an admirable job. The text covers a narrative of the campaigns against Scotland and France between 1511 and 1545; recruitment and organisation; equipment, armour and ordnance; uniforms, and flags. The uniform section is not long, but contains some surprises for the reviewer, at least: I had no idea that genuinely 'unit specific' uniform clothing was recorded in English armies as early as the 1540s, quite distinct from the traditional 'livery' items. A clear, specific account, well organised, with attractive plates and interesting mono illustrations, well up to series standard.

MAA 192 'Prussian Reserve, Militia & Irregular Troops 1806-15' by Peter Hofschroer, plates Bryan Fosten. By my count this is the fifth Prussian Napoleonic title from this team, and it fills an obvious gap; most Napoleonic students will be too familiar with the work of this author and artist to need details. While appreciating the space limitations, and the interesting examples given, I wish Mr. Hofschroer had listed the reported uniform combinations of rather more than just representative Reserve infantry units. On the plus side, there is a good deal of detail about various Freikorps; some nice contemporary monochromes, and some Knötel campaign scenes which should inspire diorama modellers. The author's explanation of the detailed operation of the vital 'Krümper' system is clear, and valuable; and as in previous titles, he illustrates his main arguments with a detailed account of an appropriate action, this time the battle on the Göhrde between Wallmoden and Pécheux on 16 September 1813. Mr. Fosten's plates have the clarity which makes all his work such valuable reference; all artists 'fudge' occasionally when let down by their own reference, but with Bryan Fosten you never catch him at it! **MAA 196 'The British Army on Campaign 1816-1902 (2): The Crimea 1854-56'** by Michael Barthorp, plates Pierre Turner. The series-within-a-series which promises to detail British uniforms, equipment, and fighting tactics throughout the Victorian period continues. Major Barthorp's text is concise and clearly organised, and a treasurehouse of specific details from contemporary written and pictorial sources. There is a detailed chronology; an expert 'talk through' the



fighting methods of the Army of the East, foot, horse and guns; and then a lengthy and careful account of the development of the uniforms, weapons and personal equipment of all arms throughout the war. Sources are meticulously quoted throughout. It has been far too long since Osprey's original, disappointingly illustrated title on this subject went out of print; but the standard of the text and monochromes, and of Mr. Turner's 'photographic' colour plates, makes the wait worthwhile. JS

CARDS and PRINTS

'Waterloo', 50-card set of cigarette cards, framed and mounted; frame 27 ins. x 19½ ins., landscape, double glazing; The Victoria Gallery, 158 Hermon Hill, South Woodford, London E18 1QH; special edition price, £75 plus P&P.

This unique set of cigarette cards has never before been issued. The original commission was given by W.D. & H.O. Wills to artist Joseph Harrison in 1914, and the set was due for issue in 1915; but with the outbreak of war in alliance with France, it was abandoned before release. At Wills' orders the stock was pulped, leaving only a few proof sets and the original gravure plates in existence. It is from the latter that this new issue has been reproduced.

The first 12 cards represent the personalities of the battle including, of course, Wellington (card 1), Napoleon (card 9) and Blücher (card 10). Cards 34 and 35 show maps of the contending armies' positions at the commencement of the battle, and at the moment when Wellington ordered the general advance. The rest of the cards show stirring incidents during the battle; both Wellington and Napoleon in the field and in camp; and — cards 43 to 47 — excellent views of the now-famous buildings related to the battle, which are of particular interest in being copied from photos taken c.1860. For instance, the interior of Hougoumont shows the ruined well, which now no longer exists.

The quality of printing is excellent, and a layman would not be able to tell, from the face, that these cards were not originals. Apart from a modern imprint and a faint Imperial Tobacco logo the reverses, too, are faithful reproductions.

The unique framing devised for cigarette cards by Victoria Gallery — sole licencees for cigarette card reproduction in the UK for Imperial Tobacco — features a strong brown moulding with a gold line, framing the cards and supporting a neutral-coloured mount with 50 apertures in which the cards are set, sandwiched between two sheets of glass, giving immediate visibility to the reverse of the cards. The set is only being issued framed at the present time.

For the militaria collector this is a very important set; for the cartophilist, a 'must' for any collection. BKF

* * *

We have also received: **'Knights of the Iron Cross'** by Gordon Williamson (Blandford, £9.95), a highly illustrated collection of accounts of awards 1939-45.

'Israeli Elite Units' by Samuel M. Katz; and **'US Airborne Troops of World War Two'** by Cameron P. Laughlin (Arms & Armour Press, Uniforms Illustrated Nos. 17 & 18, both £4.95 p/bk), in the

usual series format of approx. 130 captioned photos; those in No. 18, in particular, are extremely interesting, and many are new to us.

'A Savage War of Peace' by Alistair Horne (Papermac, revised p/bk, £8.95), a superb history of the Algerian War 1954-62 by a master historian.

'Hitler's Heralds' by Nigel H. Jones (John Murray, £12.95), an interesting history of the Freikorps 1918-23, with useful appendices.

'My Bit' by George Ashurst, ed. Richard Holmes; and **'A Sergeant-Major's War'** by Ernest Shepherd, ed. Bruce Rossor (Crowood Press, both £12.95), both excellent first-hand accounts of the Western Front by 1914-18 rankers.

'British Tanks & Formations 1939-45' (2nd Ed.), by and from Malcolm Bellis, 10 White Hart Lane, Wistaston, Crewe, Cheshire CW2 8EX, another of this enterprising compiler's inexpensive pocketbooks containing a mass of information on units, formations and vehicles in easy tabular form for quick reference.

'Godwin's Saga' by Kenneth Macksey (Robert Hale, £10.95), a tragic commando epic of Norway, 1943. MI

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James Graham, 1st Marquis of Montrose

DAVID G. ADAMS
Paintings by ANGUS McBRIDE

Born in 1612 the eldest son of the 4th Earl of Montrose, James Graham came of a proud family, recorded from the 12th century and ennobled in 1503. He succeeded to the earldom in 1627; and attended St. Andrew's University in 1627-29, being more noted for archery, hawking and hunting than for his scholarship. During a subsequent tour in Italy and France he studied military mathematics and the latest Swedish tactics; and his later success in the 1644-45 campaign has been attributed to an ingenious combination of textbook tactics with the unconventional traditions of Gaelic warfare.

A leader of the Covenanted Revolution in 1637-38, the young earl subscribed to the Scottish political ideal of a balance of power between crown and subjects, and to the latter's right — represented by the nobility — to restrain or even depose a king who failed to serve the good of the whole community. By his unpopular policies and high-handed manner Charles I had managed to unite every section of the political nation of Scotland against himself; but Graham was never an anti-monarchist *per se*.

Graham became a prominent colonel in the Covenanted army; he designed their blue ribbon emblem during the campaign against

the Royalist north-east of Scotland in 1639 — during which he showed a magnanimity towards his opponents which he sometimes lacked later. He was also prominent in the Scots armies which crossed the border in 1639 and 1640 to bring the king to heel. By mid-1640, however, he had reservations about the personal power gained by some Covenanters, notably the Marquis of Argyll, chief of the powerful Campbells. The king managed to re-prieve Graham — just before raising his standard at Nottingham in August 1642 — of charges levied against him by the Covenanters; but it was probably Graham's consistent political beliefs, rather than any personal attachment to the king, which initially

prompted him to support the Royalist cause. Despite past bitterness the Covenanters offered Graham the post of second-in-command of their army in 1643; but it was too late.

THE KING'S GENERAL

It was, nevertheless, mid-1644 before Charles, after the failure of various schemes, finally made Graham one of his lieutenants in Scotland and named him 1st Marquis of Montrose. After a failed attempt to invade Scotland via Carlisle, Montrose went into the Highlands in August and joined up with a force of some 1,000 Irish Catholics in Atholl, just as the Athollmen were about to come to blows with them. Montrose was welcomed by both sides with great enthusiasm; and in the remarkable mobile campaign which he waged against the Covenanters for the next year, it was the Irish who formed the hard core of an army which sometimes reached 3,500.

The Irish — accompanied by their families, and cut off from home and the temptation to desert — were led by Alisdair MacDonald, a Scot of legendary prowess who had failed in his kinsman the Earl of Antrim's plan to raise

Angus McBride's reconstructions show Montrose at Tippermuir in 1644; and at his execution in 1650.

Many of the Lowland nobility and gentry were accustomed to wearing Highland costume when hunting, or travelling among their Highland tenants; although the belted plaid was sometimes worn for the hunt, trews seem generally to have been preferred. Montrose is described at the beginning of his campaign as being dressed like his Irish or Highland followers in bonnet, shortcoat and trews.

In our painting he wears a black velvet Scots bonnet; his fashionable shirt is of fine linen, and over it he wears an aristocratic version of the Highland shortcoat or doublet, of rich gold brocade. The fashion for 'slashing' the sleeves and body of doublets remained popular among the Gaels as late as 1700. Lacking long tails, their shortcoats could be worn with trews or belted plaid.

The trews are made of woollen cloth cut on the cross, buttoned at the heel, having a simple check — plaids had more elaborate sets. The brogues are made of a single thickness of leather, including the soft sole, the flaps at heel and instep showing the pale reverse; the slashed and punched decoration was supposedly to let water out when crossing burns and bogs. Montrose may at times have worn a red Royalist officer's sash, or a plaid around his shoulders.

The typical Scottish pistol is all brass with snapaunce lock, 'lemon' butt, unguarded trigger, and long belt-hook. The scabbard of the 18-in. brass-handled dirk is looped to the belt, and accommodates a small eating knife. The powderhorn is a flattened cow horn, without metal fittings, slung on a leather strap decorated with brass florets. His broadsword — from a contemporary example inscribed with his arms, in Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow — hangs from a baldric. The targe, of two layers of oak set at cross-grains and covered with cowhide, is embossed with Celtic designs and decorated with brass studs; it is held by a handgrip and a loop over the arm. Montrose is shown with an officer's half-pike for foot combat, as described at Tippermuir. (Main pictorial sources: engraving of Highland chief on powderhorn, c. 1640, Royal Museum of Scotland; Michael Wright's paintings of Sir Neil O'Neil and unidentified chief, c. 1670.)

At his execution Montrose defied his enemies not only by his calm manner but by his extravagant dress of 'fine scarlet, laid over with much silver lace, his hat in his hand, his bands [collar] and cuffs exceeding rich, his delicate white gloves on his hands, his stockings of incarnate silk, his shoes with ribbons on his feet. To be short nothing was here deficient to honour his poor carcass, more befitting a bridegroom than a criminal going to the gallows.'



This portrait by George Jamieson of Aberdeen was painted in November 1629 immediately after his wedding; it shows a carefree, beardless boy of 17, wearing the fashionable slashed doublet and falling ruff of the period. (By kind permission of the Earl of Southesk)

**James Graham,
1st Marquis of Montrose**



Edinburgh 1650



Tippermuir 1644

Angus McBride

Montrose as painted in 1649, aged 37, by Gerard van Honthorst of Utrecht. Sombre of expression, the general now famous throughout Europe wears full armour and carries a baton, the former probably being merely artistic convention — he is unlikely to have worn more than breastplate and gorget on campaign. His hair is light chestnut, darker than in the earlier portrait, and his eyes are grey. He was described as 'not tall but well-proportioned and handsome' with a pale complexion. (Scottish National Portrait Gallery)



the Highlands for the king. His motive was partly hatred for Argyll and the Campbells — a hatred recent in the eastern Highlands but 150 years old among the MacDonalds and other western clans. Plunder was also a major incentive for Montrose's unpaid army; the Highlanders tended to drift home after each success, leaving him with his Irish nucleus.

Montrose's masterly campaign of hit-and-run saw him consistently avoiding all contact with the searching Covenanter armies unless it was to his advantage. He made extraordinary forced marches in all weathers and across the worst terrain; he evaded ambush and pursuit, to fall on his enemies unexpectedly before melting away into the Highlands once more.

Although Montrose's success in battle has to be attributed to the impetuous charges of the Irish and Scottish Gaels, assisted at times by the dash of Gordon and Ogilvy cavalry, it took a man of extraordinary character to hold together, and direct, such a heterogeneous force of Catholics and Protestants, Scots and Irish, Highlanders and Lowlanders.

Once brought to battle, the tactic of the Gaels was to fire only one or two point-blank volleys of musketry before charging in with broadsword and targe. This usually proved devastating, and the attackers suffered remarkably few casualties. The Irish were all armed with matchlock muskets; only about one-fifth of the Highlanders had snaphaunce

muskets, while many more carried bows — as did their Campbell opponents. A few used the double-handed claymore in the charge; others carried Lochaber axes, and some only dirks. The western clans wore helmets and mail-coats.

With forces armed in this unconventional way, Montrose succeeded time and again in defeating superior infantry forces, armed and drilled in the conventional manner with pikes and muskets. At his first success, Tippermuir on 1 September 1644, his enemies were untried levies: he beat Lord Elcho, captured his guns and train, and levied heavy fines in goods from the town of Perth. But at Aberdeen a few months later, at Auldearn in May 1645 (some 2,000 Covenanter dead), at Alford in July 1645, and at Kilsyth that August (perhaps 5,000 Covenanter dead) his opponents were largely veterans of Ireland and Marston Moor. Against Campbells armed in the Highland manner, as at Inverlochy in February 1645, Montrose was just as successful. That victory brought him the

belated support of the Gordons, and virtual control of northern Scotland. No conventional army of the period could have achieved such feats, or operated so freely in such terrain.

POLITICAL FAILURE

The largest casualties inflicted on the Covenanters usually occurred during pursuit after battle; they were needless, and hint at a flaw in Montrose's campaign which may have been fatal. He had courage, decision, fortitude, and great charm of personality; but he needed political as well as military success, and his inability to keep his wild Gaelic soldiery in check robbed him of this strategic goal.

At Aberdeen he seems to have been unable to prevent his Irish from subjecting the mainly Royalist citizens to three days of merciless murder, rape and pillage, which can have won the king few friends. After Kilsyth, with Scotland at his feet, Montrose proved unable to hold together his Irish, Highlanders and Gordons, or to raise a new army from among the luke-warm

Royalists of southern Scotland. News came of the devastating Parliamentary victory over King Charles's army far to the south at Naseby. On 13 September 1645 Montrose foolishly allowed himself to be trapped at Philiphaugh by the able Covenanter general David Leslie, and a much larger force strong in cavalry cut down his remaining Irishmen. Montrose and a few friends were forced to flee for their lives, although Montrose himself at first seemed determined to die with his men.

He continued to try to raise new forces in the northern Highlands; but the devious King Charles then threw himself on the mercy of the Covenanter army in England, and Montrose was obliged to go into exile on the Continent.

In March 1650, with a commission from the exiled Charles II appointing him lieutenant-governor of Scotland, Montrose landed via the Orkneys with a mere 1,200 mostly mercenary soldiers. He found little support; and on 27 April his force was routed at Carbisdale in Sutherland. Seeking refuge with the MacLeods of Assynt, Montrose was betrayed for a reward of £25,000.

His high-minded and selfless pursuit of his political ideals had caused much needless bloodshed, and he was understandably detested for it by a majority of his countrymen. Nevertheless, when he was brought to the gallows for treason on 21 May 1650 in Edinburgh, his calm, noble bearing in the face of the hangman won the hearts of the crowd who had gathered to abuse him. Thus ended the career of one of the most remarkable military leaders of the 17th century. **M**

Sources

Probably the best of innumerable biographies is *Montrose: for Covenant and King* (E. J. Cowan, 1977). The 1644-45 campaign, and the evolution of the Highland charge, are discussed in *Alisdair MacColla and the Highland problem in the 17th century* (D. Stevenson, 1980). Contemporary sources are listed in these works.



There is a 60-minute VIDEO of the re-enactment events shown in this photo-feature: see p.7 for details and order coupon.



